Massheder-Rigby, K

September 2018

PhD

The housing experience of the working classes 1790-1970: the potential of the combined approach of archaeology, the historical record and oral history

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By Kerry Massheder-Rigby

September 2018

Table of contents Page No.

Page No.

Abstract

Although the discipline of archaeology has a lengthy tradition of using oral testimony, particularly the testimony of Indigenous communities, it has yet to be applied fully and in a meaningful way within global historical archaeology. Frequently interdisciplinary, archaeology cannot work alone, and works best alongside other sources to enhance and strengthen our understanding of the past. This thesis explores the potential for a combined approach of archaeology, the historic record and oral history to investigate the recent past.

Despite an abundance of literature on eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century working class housing, a period that experienced rapid urban expansion, and the responses to the issues that arose as a result, there is an absence of testimony about housing from those with a lived experience. This thesis uses archaeological site reports, documentary research from primary historical sources and testimony from oral history interviews to enhance our understanding of the housing experience of the working classes from 1790-1970.

Case studies are a common method of interpreting the archaeology of households and housing. In this thesis three case studies are presented; court housing in Liverpool (1790-1970), back-to-back housing in Hungate, York (1812-1936) and small-scale employer provided housing in Glasgow (1837-1966). The Liverpool case study (chap. 4) identified that nineteenth century accounts of court housing dominate the historic literature as insanitary, overcrowded, dilapidated and slum-like and this research, via the oral history testimony, introduces an alternative, twentieth century account of court housing. The Hungate, York case study (chap. 5) demonstrates the potential of bringing together different bodies of evidence, collected at different times and by different organisations, to reinvestigate a neighbourhood historically labelled as a slum. The Glasgow case study (chap. 6) provided an opportunity to test the combined approach of archaeology and oral

history without the historic record as no documentary evidence for the Lower English Buildings site was uncovered.

This thesis outlines the ways in which the combined approach might be used in the future, demonstrating its value to enhance our understanding of an archaeological site. Encouraging the use of oral history within archaeology in the UK should be a priority for archaeologists, particularly historical archaeologists where oral history has the most potential to collaborate, and this thesis suggests how this can be achieved.

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the organisations and individuals who have supported this research.

I owe a depth of gratitude to my wonderful supervisors Professor Anthony Sinclair and Dr Graeme Milne for their advice, support and encouragement throughout the PhD process. Special thanks to Dr Liz Stewart, my mentor and friend, for her encouragement of my research.

For the Liverpool chapter I would like to thank; the Museum of Liverpool, particularly Dr Liz Stewart and Paul Gallagher, the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, the Council for British Archaeology for funding my post at the Museum of Liverpool (via Heritage Lottery Fund funding), the volunteers who kindly helped to transcribe the oral history interviews and Roger Hull from the Liverpool Record Office. Special thanks go to the narrators of the *Our Humble Abodes* oral history project who shared their memories with such warmth and humour.

For the York chapter I would like to thank; York Archaeological Trust, in particular Pete Connelly, Dr Jayne Rimmer and Kurt Hunter-Mann, the York Oral History Society, in particular Van Wilson, the narrators of the St Saviourgate oral history project conducted by York Oral History Society and Julie-Ann Vickers and Laura Yeoman from Explore York Libraries and Archives.

For the Glasgow chapter I would like to thank; the Scottish Oral History Centre Archives, in particular Dr David Walker, the oral historian for the M74 *Public Archaeology Programme,* and the narrators, Headland Archaeology, particularly Russell Coleman, Pre-Construct Archaeology, my colleagues from the Govan Iron Works site with particular thanks to Mark Roberts, Dr Dan Atkinson and Sophie Nicol.

Some general thanks go to; Digimap, my colleagues at the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology, Norman Redhead, Dr Laura McAtakney, Dr Hilary Orange,

Dr Emma Dwyer, Dr Miro Griffiths MBE, Dr Dominic Walker, Dr Sarah May, AP Journal, Dr Andres Zarankin, Professor Charles Orser Jr, Anna Fairley Nielsson, Rupert Lotherington, and the members of the Volunteer Research and Archive Group on the History of Place project. I would also like to thank the organisations I worked for while I carried out my research for their kind support: the Museum of Liverpool, Lister Steps (*The Old Library* project) and Accentuate (*History of Place* project) and my current employer, The Audience Agency, who provided encouragement and support during my Viva and thesis corrections.

Thank you to the following for proving me with opportunities to present my research during its development; Dr Suzanne Lilley, Theoretical Archaeology Group, Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology, Dr Fiona Cosson, Oral History Society, Chartered Institute for Archaeologists, University of Central Lancashire, Dr Lorna Richardson, Unofficial Histories, Liverpool History Society, Merseyside Archaeology Society and the Yorkshire Architecture and York Archaeology Society.

Thanks also go to my examiners, Professor Harold Mytum and Dr David Petts, for their supportive and invaluable suggestions which helped improve this thesis.

Special thanks go to Keith Massheder, Frances Massheder, Phil Rigby and Sylvester Massheder-Rigby for their constant support and love which has helped to make the PhD process more enjoyable and more manageable.

List of figures

Figure 4.9: Plan of the Mann Street court drawn by narrator KS during the oral history interview, with thanks to Kenneth Smith and the Museum of Liverpool.

Figure 5.1: Image of Hungate in 1890 taken from Leetham's Mill, Explore York Libraries and Archives.

Figure 5.2: Map of Hungate, York, 1st revision (1894-1915) county series 1:2500, york-se6051 2(1), © *Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2018). All rights reserved. (1894-1915).*

Figure 5.3: Image showing houses 12-32 Garden Place taken in 1933 by York Health Department, Explore York Libraries and Archives.

Figure 5.4: Image of Garden Place, unknown date, showing the silo of Leetham's Mill and the width of the streets, Explore York Libraries and Archives.

Figure 5.5: Image of Garden Place in the mid 1930's prior to its demolition in 1936, Explore York Libraries and Archives.

Figure 5.6: Plan showing the trenches of Dig Hungate, York Archaeological Trust.

Figure 5.7: Image of Duckett's toilets in Dundas Court, from 2008/2, plate 7, page 111, York Archaeological Trust.

Figure 5.8: Image showing the floor tiles in 25 Palmer Lane, from 2008/1, plate 21, page 144, York Archaeological Trust.

Figure 5.9: Digitised OS 1852 map of Hungate, from 2008/1, figure 16, page 132, York Archaeological Trust and © *Crown Copyright and Database Right (2018) OS (Digimap License).*

Figure 5.10: Image showing flooding in Lower Wesley Place in February 1933, Explore York Libraries and Archives.

Figure 6.1: Map showing the Lower English Buildings in the 1890's, 2nd Edition OS map 1895, © *Crown Copyright and Database Right (2018) OS (Digimap Licence).*

Figure 6.2: Plan showing the extent of the excavation of Govan Iron Works and the Lower English Buildings over the Ordinance Survey 2nd Edition 1895, HAPCA (Headland Archaeology and Pre-Construct Archaeology) and © *Crown Copyright and Database Right (2018) OS (Digimap Licence).*

Figure 6.3: The author on site (working shot), Rupert Lotherington and HAPCA (Headland Archaeology and Pre-Construct Archaeology).

Figure 6.4: Archaeologists working at the Lower English Buildings site (working shot), HAPCA (Headland Archaeology and Pre-Construct Archaeology).

Figure 6.5: Image showing the excavated toilet blocks (working shot), Rupert Lotherington and HAPCA (Headland Archaeology and Pre-Construct Archaeology).

Figure 6.6: Image of CW outside her house 24 Lower English Buildings, Scottish Oral History Centre Archives/023/23, M74 Oral History Project with thanks to Dr David Walker.

Figure 6.7: Image showing MN stood in her back garden at Govan Iron Works, Scottish Oral History Centre Archives/023/23, M74 Oral History Project with thanks to Dr David Walker.

Figure 6.8: Image showing the brick surface of a box bed in the Lower English Buildings, HAPCA (Headland Archaeology and Pre-Construct Archaeology).

Figure 6.9: Image showing iron staining on the support stones for box beds, HAPCA (Headland Archaeology and Pre-Construct Archaeology).

List of tables

List of abbreviations

GATSLPP: Galkoff's and the Secret Life of Pembroke Place 9www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/mol/galkoff/)

GUARD: Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division

LSTM: Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine

HAPCA: Headland Archaeology and Pre-Construct Archaeology

HLF: Heritage Lottery Fund

LRO: Liverpool Record Office

MoL: Museum of Liverpool

NML: National Museums Liverpool

OS: Ordnance Survey

SOHCA: Scottish Oral History Centre Archives (www.strath.ac.uk/humanities/schoolofhumanities/history/scottishoralhistorycentre)

YAT: York Archaeological Trust

YOHS: York Oral History Society (www.yorkoralhistory.org.uk)

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Lowenthal (2015) quotes L. P. Hartley and argues that "the past is a foreign country." What better way to find out about the past than to converse directly with the "natives," the individuals and communities who experienced it directly?

Although the discipline of archaeology has a lengthy tradition of using oral testimony, particularly the testimony of Indigenous communities, it has yet to be applied fully and in a meaningful way within global historical archaeology. Frequently interdisciplinary, archaeology cannot work alone, and works best alongside other sources to enhance and strengthen our understanding of the past. Recent research has shown the potential for combining archaeology and oral history to explore themes of historical archaeology. Certainly, memory is a theme in many contemporary archaeological approaches to, and analysis of, the recent past and one whose study requires oral testimony.

Oral history is situated as a discipline within memory studies alongside collective and individual memory, identity, folklore, myth, oral traditions and post memory, autobiography, and nostalgia. It is both a method of data collection, the process of interviewing, and an object, the audio of the interview with the testimony of the narrator. Oral history relies on first-hand testimony about the past elicited by an interviewer from a narrator and recorded as an audio or audio-visual file. The founders of oral history saw it as a radical approach able to challenge the dominant historical narrative by exploring the histories of marginalised communities, those previously excluded or misrepresented in the historical record. Oral history is used as a tool to record the emotional responses, personal experiences, and expert knowledge from members of the community. It is an opportunity to engage directly with living memory and, in collaboration with archaeology, it can interpret material culture resulting in a more personalised understanding of archaeology. The use of testimony from narrators, the historic record and site-based archaeology will be referred to as the combined approach in this thesis. This combined approach recognises and values the expert knowledge that exists in the community. In

addition, oral history is a participatory and engaging way for non-archaeologists to take part in the process of archaeology as collaborators rather than contributors. It is also a way for archaeologists, typically from a particular background and level of education, to better understand the historic environment they did not personally experience.

Have we, historical archaeologists, and in particular UK based historical archaeologists, failed to recognise the full value of oral history? Written sources often dominate as more legitimate, with memory obliterated by the written word (Kasabova 2008), and the heavily scientific approach of archaeology can be skeptical of oral sources (Mason 2000). The fragility of memory, for example, is a valid point of concern. Ideally, however, no source should be used in isolation, and oral history has the potential to act in the absence of other sources, providing information that cannot be found elsewhere. In this way oral history is a form of rescue archaeology, where memories are finite and fragile and must be excavated prior to their decay and ultimate loss. First hand memories will not be available to future generations (Moshenska 2006) and this is the main reason to do oral history now.

1.2 Research questions

Why is the housing experience a suitable theme for investigating the combined approach? The study of the history of housing is intended to aid our understanding of the ways of life of builders, owners and occupants (Johnson 2010). Household archaeology is a diverse and eclectic practice to which researchers bring multiple perspectives (Beaudry 2015) and it is within the context of the household that cultural consciousness and notions of personhood are initially forged (Beaudry 2004). Households are the primary arena in which space is experienced and life is lived (Lefebvre 1971). Beaudry (2015) argued that historical archaeologists should attempt to integrate social history approaches, with a focus on ordinary people, and anthropological approaches looking at development cycles within domestic groups and households more generally. Archaeologists should strive to excavate household sites in such a way that they can make persuasive links between the life histories of sites and site formation processes and identify episodes of household stasis, upheaval, transformation (Beaudry 1995). Although urban neighbourhoods have

received increased attention from historical archaeologists such as Mayne and Murray (2001) there is much to investigate of these vanished inner-city housing forms, particularly in the UK, and from the combined perspective of archaeology and oral history.

This thesis has used archaeological site reports, documentary research from primary historical sources and testimony from oral history interviews to enhance our understanding of the housing experience of the working classes from 1790-1970. Using previous examples of the combined approach as a foundation, and by establishing a series of elements by which to assess the survival of the housing experience in the different bodies of evidence, this thesis has tested the theory of the combined approach and has illustrated how it can contribute to our understanding of the housing experience. Despite an abundance of literature on eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century working class housing, a period that experienced rapid urban expansion, and the responses to the issues that arose as a result, there is an absence of testimony of the housing experience from those with a lived experience.

The two primary aims of this research were to test the theory of the combined approach and to contribute to our understanding of the housing experience. Encouraging the use of oral history within historical archaeology in the UK should be a priority for archaeologists, particularly historical archaeologists where oral history has the most potential to collaborate. To achieve this, oral history should be available to undergraduates of archaeology, within archaeological training and embedded within archaeological briefs, where relevant, as standard. This research has developed a combined approach by bringing together archaeological evidence, historic documentary material and oral history testimony from three case studies, which form the content of chapters four, five and six.

A series of research questions were devised to frame the research.

- How can archaeology, the historic record and oral history work as a combined approach and what can this combined approach contribute to our understanding of the housing experience of the working classes in Britain from 1790-1970?

- Can the combined approach challenge our understanding of working class housing, develop our knowledge of the housing experience and provide insight that may otherwise go unrecorded?
- How was working class housing experienced, perceived, remembered and recorded and does archaeology, the historical record or oral history alone answer this?
- What of the housing experience survives across the different bodies of data?

1.3 Case studies

The three case studies explored different forms of housing in different locations in Britain, court housing in Liverpool (chap. 4), back-to-back housing in York (chap. 5) and small-scale employer provided cottages in Glasgow (chap. 6). These case studies demonstrated where the combined approach worked well and, based on the case studies, this research makes suggestions on how the application of the combined approach could be improved for future use.

1.3.1 Court housing in Liverpool

The oral history project *Our Humble Abodes* was conducted by the author and Dr Liz Stewart, Curator of Archaeology and the Historic Environment at the Museum of Liverpool, in 2013 on behalf of the Museum of Liverpool. The project interviewed, for the first time, former residents of court housing in Liverpool and collected their testimonies into the Museum of Liverpool repository. The nineteenth century version of court housing dominates the historic literature as insanitary, overcrowded, dilapidated and slum-like and this research, via the oral history testimony, introduces an alternative, twentieth century account. With only one extant example of court housing remaining in Liverpool and a lack of archaeological evidence, the first-hand testimony collected is preserved within a publicly accessible archive for the future. The memories shared by the oral history narrators suggest the oral history testimony is worth collecting and that it can challenge the historic record, which typically reflects the mainstream narrative.

1.3.2 Hungate, York

Hungate was the location of a large-scale excavation from 2006 by York Archaeological Trust (YAT) with post-medieval deposits of a former working class residential neighbourhood. Prior to this, in 1993, oral history interviews were conducted with former Hungate residents by York Oral History Society (YOHS). The archaeological evidence from excavation and the oral history testimony both challenge and confirm the historic record. This case study demonstrates the potential of bringing together different bodies of evidence, collected at different times and by different organisations, to reinvestigate a neighbourhood historically labelled as a slum.

1.3.3 Lower English Buildings, Glasgow

Between 2007 and 2008 a major commercial and public archaeology project took place in Glasgow as part of the expansion of the M74 motorway. One of the excavated sites was the former Govan Ironworks and its employer provided housing the Lower English Buildings. As part of the public archaeology programme former employees of the site were interviewed including one former resident of the Lower English Buildings. With no historic documentary material for the site uncovered, this case study provided an opportunity to test the combined approach of archaeology and oral history without the historic record.

1.4 Outline of chapters

The structure of this thesis is as follows. This chapter provides an introduction to the research by outlining the aims of the research, by outlining the research questions, by introducing the research themes and by providing a brief introduction to the three case studies of chapters four, five and six. Chapter two reviews the existing literature and the research methodologies setting out the themes of the research within the context of approaches to working class housing across the disciplines. It discusses the combined approach in general and then specific to working class housing, identifies gaps in the combined approach and proposes the various contributions this research could offer. Chapter three sets out the research context

and provides an understanding of working class housing in Britain from the late eighteenth century and the legislation, commentary and developments for housing and public health. Chapter four presents the Liverpool case study which investigates court housing. Chapter five presents the Hungate, York case study which investigates back-to-back housing. Chapter six presents the Lower English Buildings case study which investigates small-scale employer provided housing in Glasgow. Chapter seven provides a discussion of the applications of the combined approach, presents potential research directions for the future and concludes the research.

1.5 Contribution to the subject

This research brings together three bodies of evidence to approach historical working class housing from an multi-disciplinary perspective. This thesis was an opportunity to bring together archaeology, the historic record and oral history, and housing is a theme that can facilitate this. This thesis demonstrates that although there is no perfect way to practice the combined approach, all approaches have merit, there is an ideal way based on the three case studies. This research developed a framework, or guidance, for future application of the combined approach. It recognises the unique contribution each discipline can make to our understanding of the housing experience and proposes that the combined approach can offer more than any single discipline acting alone.

Within this research each source is treated as equal in significance, however it is the oral history testimony that is unique and has the most potential to increase our understanding of the housing experience. While the archaeological evidence can provide physical remains as evidence, oral history has the unique ability to illuminate the physical archaeological remains by providing lived experience from community experts. It is the most important form of community archaeology. Janovek (2013) argues unequal power relations cannot be addressed if researchers assume they are the experts who give a voice to marginalised. Oral history narrators are community experts and can participate in archaeology as collaborators, rather than simply as contributors. Community members can work with archaeologists to set the research agenda, representing their community while interpreting physical archaeological structures and objects. The combined approach, memory work alongside traditional archaeology, can enable the community to be involved in a

meaningful way, contributing first-hand knowledge of the physical landscape and the people who inhabited it. Oral history provides the opportunity to capture accounts of the housing experience that may otherwise go unrecorded. Traditionally, the historic working class, marginalised communities and those inhabiting housing labelled as slums have been under represented in the historical record. Oral history can address this by recording memories, opinions, interpretations, thoughts and life histories. Indigenous People have pioneered storytelling, oral history and the verbal sharing of memory to preserve the heritage of their community. Their work illustrates that community involvement and community-led archaeology and memory work does not necessarily mean amateur or unprofessional.

This research adds a layer of understanding to existing case studies because it does not simply describe them but pulls the data sets together and adds to them. The originality of the research is in purposely applying the combined approach in the UK to working class housing. It also makes the following contributions; it brings together the archaeology and oral history of Hungate, York, it has conducted oral history interviews with former residents of court housing in Liverpool, it has developed a system of elements of the housing experience to uncover them in the archaeological reports, the historic record and oral history transcripts, it provides the predicted and actual survival of data, it synthesises existing work on the topic and it offers new evidence on an old issue, that of working class housing.

Although the combined approach isn't new, it has been widely practiced within the archaeological approaches to Indigenous Peoples, it has yet to be fully practiced within UK archaeology. This thesis uses oral history in historical archaeological research to determine if the methodologies and learning outcomes can be applied to any historical archaeology project and shape the future of archaeological investigation.

Chapter Two: Literature review and research methodology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the existing literature on working class housing, memory and oral history, the combined approach, and how the combined approach has been applied to working class housing. Identifying gaps in the literature, this chapter presents the methodology for this research and introduces three case studies where the combined approach demonstrates its potential.

2.2 Literature review

Traditionally there has been a focus on the changing nature of urban working class housing with an emphasis on housing conditions. Working class housing has typically been approached from the perspective of the discipline of history with a concentrated focus in the 1970's (Chapman 1971; Gauldie 1974; Sutcliffe 1972; Tarn 1971). The subject underwent a revival in interest in the 1990's (Daunton 1990; Gaskell 1990; Rodger 1995) before receiving increased attention from an archaeological perspective (Dewhurst 1989; Crosby et al 2008; Newman and Newman 2008) which tended to focus on specific geographical areas or archaeological sites rather than the subject more generally. Within historical archaeology working class housing has received increased attention more recently with the symposium "Archaeologies of Workers' Housing" organised by Harold Mytum, Charlotte Newman and Suzanne Lilley at the 2017 Society for Historical Archaeology conference in Fort Worth, Texas and the "Housing the Industrious Workforce" session, which the author delivered a paper in, held at the Theoretical Archaeology Group conference in 2015 in Bradford, UK both encouraging alternative perspectives of working class housing. From an archaeological perspective, housing studies include the building recordings of extant structures, the excavation of buried structures and the study of material remains uncovered during excavation plus desk-based research conducted prior to fieldwork. There are examples of UK based archaeological studies that have included oral history (Belford 2003, Casella 2012; Casella and Croucher 2010; Dwyer 2014; Moshenska 2006, 2007, 2010) however the combined approach has been slow to develop in the

UK despite examples of the profession heading in the right direction. These previous UK based studies encouraged this research by providing the foundations for a methodological approach of both archaeology, historical documents, or documentary archaeology (Beaudry 1988), and oral history to study working class housing. Their observations and evaluation have worked to develop the combined approach however gaps remain in the research such as a framework of the combined approach that goes beyond a single site, a critical look at what survives in the different sources of evidence and so what the potential for the combined approach is. Developing an approach that treats archaeology and oral history as equals rather than one as a supplementary source should be a priority.

2.2.1 Working class housing

The subject of working class housing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been approached by historians, geographers, economic historians and sociologists. Historians have primarily focussed on housing in two phases, the 1970's and the 1990's. Much of the research falls into the category of housing as an investment or the social history of housing, the changes in housing standards and the effect they had on occupants and the housing crisis. Working class housing was in crisis for the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries and there are different opinions on the cause of this. Gauldie (1974) attributes it to poverty, Chalklin (1974) on the increased cost of materials and the labour required to build, Rodger (1995) on population expansion and low wages. It is likely a mix of many issues, as introduced in chapter three.

There is a body of contemporary literature that deals with working class people, their interests and their housing, much of this will be discussed in detail in chapter three. The published results of private research and surveys provided an account of housing, with Webster's Index of Residential Construction for Liverpool, James Kay conducting research into cotton workers in Manchester in 1832 and the Statistical Society for Parishes of St Margaret and St John, Westminster who carried out a survey of working class tenancies. Investigative journalists also reported on working class people. Mayhew (1851) provided an account of the earnings of working people in London and devised an approach to gathering the information, through oral accounts of working people by conducting face to face interviews. The approach

was not systematic, and focussed attentions on marginalised occupations which resulted in an exaggerated account of poverty (Rees 2001). The 1891 census provided, for the first time, statistical data on overcrowding. This 1891 census was the first to include specific questions on housing and the statistics show that, apart from London, Glasgow and Newcastle, Liverpool had the worst housing conditions in England. The census data can be problematic. They do not include housing variables such as room sizes, differences in dwelling type, a lack of definitions for terms such as overcrowding, uninhabitable, unfit. Social scientists Booth (1889) and Rowntree (1901) continued to survey working class neighbourhoods in the late nineteenth century aiming to report statistics on poverty.

The contemporary view of working class and slum housing is typically through the reports, and eyes, of middle class outsiders as there are only a handful of twentieth century accounts from those with a lived experience (London 1903, O'Mara 1933; Roberts 1971). For example, *The Builder*, a weekly publication aimed at a wide readership rather than specialists in the building trade, often published new designs for working class housing whilst *The Lancet* discussed the issue through a focus on public health and promotion of the work of sanitary officials. More generally, the industrial novel, or social novel, aimed at the general public, focused on working class life usually sharing tales of poverty, mistreatment and the sharp contrast of life in the slums versus elsewhere. Disraeli's (1845) *Sybil* and Engel's (1845) *The Condition of the Working Class in England* detail working class housing conditions.

Although Saul (1962) conducted a study of housebuilding in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century it was Chapman (1971) who produced the first major work on the development of workers housing with a collection of essays from various authors on working class housing conditions in London, Glasgow, Leeds, Nottingham, Liverpool and Birmingham. Chapman (1971) questioned if the documentary material on working class housing was representative as it focussed on the perspectives of middle class observers, social idealists, government officials, authors and amateur statisticians and the physical evidence steadily being destroyed by demolition. He concluded that an appreciation of working class housing must be founded on a series of local studies to provide a more focussed account. By approaching the housing problem in its historical context some themes emerge. A better class of accommodation provided an incentive for the migration of labour, some places had

a uniformly and consistently low standard of working class housing, for example Liverpool, although there was a country wide struggle, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, to set and maintain adequate standards at an affordable rent for the causally employed or unemployed workers. Chapman (1971) noted that working class housing conditions were only investigated by officials from the 1840's and then only as a by-product of inquiries into public health. Tarn (1971) considered the housing problem to be an urban one, a result of the growth of the working class population in towns, the ways in which people were housed and the ways in which the community began to be interested in the issues that surrounded the housing problem. Although the housing problem occurred from the early nineteenth century it was only during the second half of the nineteenth century that it was highlighted as a social issue. Tarn (1971) argued that it was the appearance of epidemics, particularly Cholera in 1832, that brought home the enormity of the problem that already existed. Sutcliffe (1972) produced a review of research into working class housing in nineteenth century Britain and identified that previous studies had primarily focussed on building cycles and changes in demand and that none of the previous studies separated working class and middle class housing. Rubenstein (1974) concluded it was difficult to find examples of people who lived between the extremes.

By the time of Gauldie's (1974) publication large areas of the country had yet to be investigated regarding working class housing. Gauldie (1974) argued that in the future localised studies needed a framework against which they could measure their own findings. It is Gauldie's (1974) definitions that prove most useful as the study includes the unemployed and casually employed in the term working class, those for whom the provision of a decent house by their own efforts was difficult to attain. The term decent is complicated as it means different things to different people at different times. Gauldie (1974) suggested that watertight and able to be cleaned was an appropriate definition of decent. Gauldie (1974) approached the study of working class housing as a way to understand the causes that taught society to tolerate slums and argued the failure of legislation to achieve real solutions was a result of the attitudes of those developing the legislation. Chalklin (1974) investigated how towns were made ready for the rapidly growing population, by what means, in what forms and the implications for generations to follow. It was the first full scale study of the building process to be set within a comparative framework. It took an economic focus, investigating the contribution builders and landowners made to the process of

urbanisation in the nineteenth century. Chalklin (1974) provided an account of living conditions for workers deteriorating from 1820's as housing density increased and construction quality decreased, a result of rising land prices and skimping on material costs. In most urban centres the ratio of persons per house did not increase. This is perhaps due to the changing definition of the term dwelling of because newer housing forms like back-to-back houses were replacing multi-occupied front houses. Chalklin (1974) suggested the inhabitants of working class urban areas suffered deterioration in housing conditions as towns expanded; worsening sanitation, limited open spaces, poorer house construction but that the accommodation itself didn't worsen. The study concluded by arguing that the financial and physical achievements of Georgian builders in provincial towns was impressive but recognised that the evidence for the housing experience in the Georgian period, compared to the Victorian period, is sparser.

Wohl's (1977) study into housing and social policy in Victorian London focussed on overcrowding as the primary cause of slum conditions. The study deals with the historical entity of the slum through the perception and handling of the housing problem in London and asks how overcrowding could have been prevented when its treatment was an aggravating factor. At the time of its publication the study of working class housing still lacked a full-length study on working class housing in a single British town or city. The study places overcrowding within the framework of national policy but treats it as a distinctly urban phenomenon. Burnett's (1978) social history account of housing was a comprehensive account of housing from 1815-1985 followed by Steffel (1979) who produced a review of the body of work published on housing from 1815-1970.

Housing was not a focus of research in the 1980's with the exception of Daunton (1983) who criticised previous studies for their focus of attention on a few minor philanthropic efforts rather than the typical conditions of the private sector with accommodated the majority of people. Daunton (1983) concluded by suggesting that future studies might look at working class housing as a place of residence rather than an aspect of the economy. In the introduction to an edited collection of essays investigating the global statistical analysis of the standard of living for workers Daunton (1990) explained that much of the previous research regarding workers housing had focussed on the costs of housing and corresponding wage

levels. In fact, much of the previous research had looked at the social aspects of housing and the low-quality housing available to the working classes. Daunton (1990) concluded that variations in rents, architectural forms and housing standards had resulted in British historians raising questions that had been refined rather than answered. Daunton (1990) proposed that buildings and neighbourhoods should be read as social documents with the physical fabric of the structures too important not to be studied by social historians. The physical form of a property and neighbourhood could have social consequences for the interaction of residents and the nature of family with different forms of housing allowing varying degrees of privacy and interaction between family and outsiders. Daunton (1990) concluded that there was no single way of housing the worker and recognised wide variations in the development process, in the management of property, in its architectural form, in its method of management and in the system that regulated it.

Gaskell (1990), in the introduction to an edited volume on slums, provided a guide to slum housing by setting out the statistics, legislation and policy regarding housing prior to 1907. Gaskell (1990) asked what features created and reinforced a slum and proposed that foul drainage, inadequate sewerage, an abundance of bugs and dirt, extreme un-healthiness, populations of transients, criminals and unskilled workers living in impoverished and insecure circumstances resulted in a slum. Rodger (1995) suggested the problem of working class housing was not a matter of building better dwellings but was rooted in the infrastructure of new industrial societies and that the unprecedented, sustained population expansion was the cause of the housing problem. The housing problem, discussed in detail in chapter three, was a result of several factors all occurring simultaneously and, although poor quality working class housing had always existed, the increased demand for low cost housing within urban locations resulted in the emergence of slums without a recognised plan to deal with it.

Rodger (1995) identified the contradictory interpretations of the nineteenth century housing experience divided social historians into two categories of opinion, optimistic such as Tarn (1971), Burnett (1978), Gauldie (1974) and Daunton (1990) where by the introduction of amenities such as a water supply, gas and water closets represented significant structural developments and the pessimists such as Wohl (1977) and Rodger (1995) who argued that improvements were only available

to the regularly employed working class. There remains an unsettled debate over the balance of good versus bad quality housing however it is difficult to quantify good or bad quality housing and so working class housing should be approached with the aim of uncovering individual experiences rather than labelling as good or bad, although it is possible to develop a list of requirements for a house to be considered decent or healthy.

Historians have typically focussed on the housing problem and slums, the deteriorating conditions of working class housing through the nineteenth century, rather than on the experience of residents. This is likely because there are only rare examples of literature (London 1903; O'Mara 1933; Roberts 1971) from the perspective of the working classes. This is an issue that is common when it comes to marginalised communities.

From an archaeological perspective housing has been approached as a part of household archaeology, which typically takes an artefact-centred approach. There is a focus on the activities that took place within the house rather than on the physical structure or architecture. Beaudry (2004) suggested archaeologists should take from the inter-disciplinary literature on households what is most useful to them and to avoid adopting a single or monolithic definition of the household, suggesting instead that researchers adopt a definition of the household that works for the particular context they are investigating and that best suits the goals of the research. Household archaeology studies are useful for studying human behaviour (Beaudry 2015) plus the behaviour of individuals, families, social units and communities. Common themes for household archaeology studies include household activities, household production, and household archaeology of a particular region or time period. Household archaeology does not limit itself to the study of individual houses and yards but explores links between broader themes and situates households within their landscapes. Beaudry (2015) comments that historical archaeologists often find themselves constrained by the fact that by this period many households were urban with little space beyond the house and that often dwellings housed multiple families and therefore multiple households. It cannot be assumed from the physical archaeology that residents used the spaces of households in the way they were intended to be used.

Workers' housing is not a dominant theme in later historical archaeology (Dwyer 2014) although it is gaining increased interest from historical, industrial and contemporary archaeologists. There has been a neglect of research on working class housing in favour of the industrial landscape although housing has featured as part of the landscape in several studies (Hughes 2000; Palmer and Neaverson 2005). Industrialised urban centres have received increased attention from historical archaeologists (Nevell 2002; Symonds 2002). Housing has traditionally been overlooked by industrial archaeologists in favour of the workplace with rare exceptions (Hughes 2004; Nevell 2011; Nevell 2014; Nevell 2016; Timmins 2000). Nevell (2011; 2016) argued that because workers' housing was largely constructed as a consequence to rapid industrialisation it is part of the industrial landscape and should be treated as such. Detailed research on workers' housing has been conducted as the focus of geographical studies (Caffyn 1986; Crosby 2007; Crosby et al 2008; Dewhurst 1989; Newman and Newman 2008) or as site specific studies (Matthews 1998).

Recent archaeological approaches to housing are pioneered by early career researchers (Dwyer 2014; Lilley 2015) who have reassessed myths surrounding working class housing. Lilley researched the archaeology of housing in the Derwent Valley taking a buildings-led approach which provided a framework for the future study of workers' housing in this geographical area, although this framework could be adapted and applied elsewhere. Dwyer (2014) examined late nineteenth to early twentieth century social housing from a contemporary archaeology approach demonstrating how concepts of modernity shaped social housing in the UK.

2.2.2 Memory studies and oral history

We are currently in a memory boom that began in the 1980's and has continued in popularity as the significance of memory is better understood. Prior to 2000 much of the research conducted on memory was engaged with understanding collective memory (Confino 1997; Connerton 1989; Halbwachs 1992) and better understanding the public, or social, aspects of memory (Fentress and Wickham 1992; Glassberg 1996; Olick and Robbins 1998). Halbwachs (1992) was a pioneer of this from the 1920's with his research into the social frameworks of memory. Research into collective memory has continued with a focus on the social aspects of

memory (Olick et al 2011; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003), the politics of memory (Hodgkin and Radstone 2003), and collective acts of remembering (Blockland 2001). Collective memory research is also concerned with a past that needs to be memorialised and made sense of (Barsalou 2012; Mah 2010). Oral history sits within the field of collective memory, which proposes that memory is not the property of an individual mind, but a diverse and shifting collection of material artefacts and social practices that can be understood to be a collection of signs, symbols, practices, memorial dates, names of places, monuments, museums, texts and customs (Klein 2000) and memories that one does not necessarily need to have lived through personally (Blockland 2001). Memory is a collective and social concept, with people remembering together in commemorations, memorials, festivals, national holidays and museums. The nature of collective memory, whilst the subject of extensive research, remains disorganised, contains gaps and lacks a universally agreed upon definition. Individual memory has been investigated to identify how individuals recall the past, how the past contributes to the forming of identity and how individual memories are confirmed through dialogue with others (Green 2004; Portelli 1997; Smith 2016).

The pioneers of oral history include Raphael Samuel (1994), Ewart Evans (1956) and Paul Thompson (2000) with the Oral History Association established in 1966 and the Oral History Society founded 1973. Ewart Evans (1956) was an early practitioner of oral history, recognising its potential to research previously unstudied groups such as the historic working class. Portelli (1981) argued oral history can tell us about the meaning of the past and can cast new light on unexplored sides of daily life. Oral history is not yet standardised and the varied methodologies are continuing to develop (Abrams 2010; Perks and Thompson 2016). To date, most studies have developed methodologies that are unique to the individual project, the exception being Van Dyke and Alcock (2003) who provided a framework for the study of memory in past societies, rather than as a standard approach that could be applied to any project.

Aspects of collective memory that are particularly relevant to historical archaeology include oral history, oral testimony, folklore, myth and storytelling, commemoration and remembrance, and nostalgia. The recording of oral traditions and stories by folklorists originated in late nineteenth century Scotland with the collection of Bothy

Ballads, agricultural and marine songs (Knox 2008) and with stories collected in the Scots dialect of Orkney (McLean 2017). Early pioneers of the collection methods of oral traditions include academic folklorists such as Seamus O Duilerga during the 1920's and Kenneth H Jackson in the 1930's who recorded oral traditions within the Irish language in Ireland and work by Carl Wilhelm Von Sydow who recorded folk sagas and traditions in Sweden from the 1910's. Nostalgia, a term coined by Johannes Hofer, a Swiss physician, in the seventeenth century to describe the physical and psychological symptoms of homesickness, is now better described as a phenomenon of selectively remembering the past, often in a favorable way with Scanlan (2004) referring to nostalgia as "rose-tinted escapism." Research on nostalgia has investigated how nostalgia and history intersect (Shaw and Chase 1989) and how nostalgia can benefit the individual (Cheung et al 2013). The limits of memory have been explored (Larsen 2011; Portelli 1981) further developing our understanding of how memories are formed and forgotten with Portelli (1981) commenting on the credibility of memory. Understanding why we forget has been a focus of research by Connerton (2008) who concluded that forgetting is not necessarily a memory fault but an intentional act.

An increasingly popular theme is how memory and place work together (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004). This theme develops Nora's (1989) research into the concept of place as a vehicle for the creation and storage of memory. Samuel (1994) continued to pioneer this theme in the 1990's and contributed to the discussion on memory by looking at the different ways we use history as a living practice coining the phrase "theatres of memory." Memory studies increasingly distinguish different types of memory such as prosthetic or inauthentic memory, where technology and media have implanted memories of unexperienced events (Burgoyne 1997; Landsberg 1995; Nora 1989), and transgenerational haunting (Abraham and Torok 1994), describing the memories of children whose parents experienced trauma. Memory's ability to challenge grand narratives has also been researched (Klein 2000) and how memory can exist within a museum setting (Arnold De Siminie 2013).

So, memory is both individual and collective, personal and social, non-linear and non-chronological, subject to intentional and unintentional forgetting, able to be influenced and manipulated, authentic and untrustworthy, challenging, and unique.

Oral testimony, or post-memory (Hirsch 1997), is influenced by bias, personality, self, time, media, communication, and language, but it also offers something unique and crucial.

2.2.3 The combined approach

The relationship between archaeology, history and written documentary sources is part of a wider debate in historical archaeology (Little 1992; Moreland 2001; Moreland 2006) re-evaluating the role written artefacts can play in interpreting and reconstructing the past. With this wider debate in mind the paragraphs below focus on the relationship between archaeology and oral history. Oral history is a potential complementary source of evidence if there is an understanding of the process by which memories are created. The use of memory and oral history in archaeology has gained momentum in recent years. Memory has become a theme at major conferences such as the World Archaeological Congress in Dublin in 2008 which held several sessions on memory and oral traditions. The European Association of Archaeologists conference in Glasgow in 2015 held sessions that investigated the value of memory and oral history for archaeology and the Society for Historical Archaeology conference in 2017 held sessions on memory and materiality and historic memory. Memory and oral history have become themes within archaeological courses such as at Boston University which offers the module "oral history and written records in archaeology," with oral history a key element in the historical archaeology program at the University of Illinois. Orser (2010) identified heritage and memory as one of the key areas characterising current research in an overview of historical archaeology and more recently included a section on oral history in the third edition of *Historical Archaeology* (Orser 2017). Jones and Russell (2012) introduced a special edition of the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* on archaeology, memory and oral tradition. The papers discussed recent approaches to memory work and explored the impact this work has had on historical archaeology. They continue the work of fellow advocates of the combined approach (Adams 1984; Moshenska 2007; Purser 1992).

Evidence suggests that together archaeology and oral history can better inform our understanding of the past (Bennett and Fowler 2017). Pooling our strengths as archaeologists, historians, and geographers we can provide an account of the

people of the modern past that is as accurate as evidence will allow (Mayne 2011). Both disciplines are compatible without diminishing the significance of either (Lyons et al 2010) but we need a more theoretically informed approach to memory work within archaeology (Moshenska 2006). The memories shared within oral history interviews can be used to interpret material culture, identify objects, and make sense of object collections. The testimony can transmit knowledge that is of continuing importance to a community, inform the public about historic events, identify and interpret sites of human occupation, inform about past social life and culture, and challenge long held assumptions.

As the combined approach has developed it has been used to investigate; community histories (Casella 2012; McDonnell 2003), material culture (Mullins 2014; Webster and Tolson 2014), places of conflict (Fernandez and Moshenska 2017; Mason 2012; Moshenska 2006, Scott 2003), former industrial landscapes (Belford 2003; Belford and Ross 2004; Gillott 2010; Mah 2010), rural landscapes (Carlton and Roberts 2014; Riley and Harvey 2005), community relationships with archaeological landscapes (Bennett and Fowler 2017; Finneran 2009; Lyons et al 2010), housing (Brown 1973; Moshenska 2007) buildings (Lowe 2005), and as a basis for future archaeological work (Finneran 2009; Liston and Reith 2010). The combined approach has even been used to explore the nature of excavation as the arena for the production of memory (Cooper and Thomas 2012; Jones 2012). Archaeology and oral history offer two complementary ways of considering human history (McKechnie 2015) and their use together has the potential to offer a fuller picture by each filling gaps in the information not available to the other. Oral history and archaeology are both placed based and fieldwork disciplines and the value of oral history for historical archaeology lies in its ability to provide personal memories, feelings, and reflections about archaeological features from living memory.

Within the field of conflict archaeology, the combined approach has consistently demonstrated its potential. A combination of memory and material culture has been used to explore objects of conflict such as gasmasks (Moshenska 2010), of using excavated arrowheads to assess the reliability of oral accounts of conflict (Mason 2012) and the validation of oral accounts by bullet clusters at battlefield sites (Scott 2003). There is huge potential for oral history to help survivors and victims of repressive military dictatorships, such as those in Latin America, oppose and

reclaim the official narrative (Hiner 2018, Huyssen 2011, Zarankin and Salerno 2008). It has been recognised that the memory of past violence can be used as a vehicle for assuming and attributing responsibility (Leccardi 2016, Sodaro 2018) such as at the Museo De La Memoria Y Los Derechos Humanos (Museum of Memory and Human Rights) in Santiago, Chile and at the Espacio Memoria Y Derechos Humanos Ex ESMA (Space for Memory and Human Rights, formally ESMA) in Buenos Aires, Argentina. The use of memorial museums to come to terms with the violence of the past, the detainment, torture and murder of political prisoners of war, is a high-profile method of sharing oral histories and allowing them to play a prominent role in the memorialisation of past events.

Memory within the field of the archaeology of Indigenous Peoples, both historical and deep time tribal memory, has made a huge contribution to, and has further developed, the combined approach. The right of many Indigenous communities to engage in archaeological work and collaborate with heritage research is included within legislation. In the United States, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990), which requires federally funded institutions to make human remains and associated materials available for return to their associated Tribes, accepts oral history as evidence for the identification of human remains as Native American. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2007, recognised the right of Indigenous Peoples to have control over their heritage. Some more localised legislation has also recognized the rights Indigenous groups have to their heritage such as the Ontario Heritage Act R S O 1990 which regulates archaeology and grants licenses to archaeologists to investigate heritage. In addition to legislation many codes of conduct set out by archaeological associations include the responsibilities archaeologists have to Indigenous communities. For example, the Australian Archaeological Association (2017) has a code of ethics for members which requires them to acknowledge the special importance of the cultural heritage of Indigenous communities and the Canadian Archaeological Association (2017) has principles for ethical conduct pertaining to First Nations Peoples. Indigenous archaeologists have researched how a mix of Indigenous values and archaeological practices can be fruitful. Watkins (2000) argues for Indigenous People to be full partners in the archaeological process.

It has been recognised that memory work allows Indigenous People to assume the rights to their own history (Lyons et al 2010), to participate within archaeological investigations (Herrmann et al 2017) and to narrate the archaeological data (Mason 2000; McKechnie 2015). Archaeologists of Indigenous Peoples recognise that memories and community knowledge are embedded in geographical locations within the historic landscape. McKechnie (2015) suggests a skepticism of oral history has resulted in the continued privileging of colonial history accounts over Indigenous accounts. It is possible to apply the methodologies developed during archaeological projects of Indigenous communities using the combined approach at non-Indigenous sites although McKechnie (2015) reminds us that even Indigenous oral history has yet to be integrated or evaluated effectively alongside conventional archaeological chronologies. Even for the archaeology of Indigenous Peoples, whilst demonstrating best practice of the combined approach, further work is required to fully integrate the method.

A research partnership between the University of New England and the Yarrawarra Aboriginal Corporation between 1996 and 2002 was aimed at understanding Aboriginal place knowledge by developing the concept of “conversations” between the disciplines of archaeology and oral history (Beck and Somerville 2005). The study took place at Yarrawarra, an Aboriginal settlement in Australia. The method for collecting oral history testimonies, over 100 in total, developed the idea of conversations and focused on oral history of the twentieth century with place as a central theme. Participants were also included in the archaeological aspects of the project to inspire conversations between participants and to further encourage memories. The project established several types of ‘conversations’ that occurred because of the collaboration between oral history and archaeology (Beck and Somerville 2005). The “contradictory conversations”, where evidence from both disciplines are in direct conflict, were the most exciting and useful in constructing a more complete understanding the history of place. This example suggests that we should refrain from establishing if one discipline proves the other correct or incorrect and concentrate on how conflicting evidence can produce a fuller picture. Although this example was developed specifically for community archaeology work with Indigenous communities, it attempted to develop a set of criteria which could be applied to the combined approach at other, non-Indigenous, historical sites.

Another example of the combined approach within the practice of the archaeology of Indigenous Peoples is the *Arivat Archaeology and Oral History Project* which conducted a mapping and oral history study to collect knowledge of people, places, sites and resources of Inuit territories in the West Coast of Hudson Bay, Canada (Lyons et al 2010). Following a land claims agreement in 1993 local Inuits became involved in the management and conservation of archaeological sites which resulted in a more hybrid approach to archaeology including place names, local knowledge, and oral history. Inuit Elders' knowledge was used to inform and animate the archaeological findings of the collaborative project. The aim of the study was to illustrate how the collaborative relationship between archaeologists and Indigenous Inuit Elders contributed to the success of the project. The study found that alternative forms of history-telling are to be encouraged because the discussions that emerge from comparisons are productive, even if the oral history narratives and archaeological evidence differ. Again, contradictory evidence can be the most promising. The project supplied testimonies that helped interpret material culture and archaeological features. Beyond this, the project generated knowledge of historical personalities, the modes by which people travelled on the landscape, the choices people made, changes in lifestyles, and land-based living. These oral history testimonies increased archaeologists' knowledge of how landscapes define personal identities, how events may be stored in memories and how memories reflect and sustain cultural values.

In places where there is no publicly recognised Indigenous community, many funders and organisations require or encourage public engagement and participation with archaeology. Oral history is one way to encourage the community to participate in archaeology (Marshall 2002; Tully 2007). In an environment where increasingly public money is being spent on archaeology and heritage there is a duty to include and engage the public. The Faro Convention (2005) is a European framework that promotes a wider understanding of heritage and its relationship to communities and society (Belford 2014). Likewise, the National Lottery Heritage Fund, formally the Heritage Lottery Fund, a UK based public funding body, supports projects which help local people to explore, enjoy and protect their heritage whilst Historic England (formally English Heritage, the national agency for the protection of built heritage in England), within their report *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance* (English Heritage 2008) state that everyone should be able to participate in sustaining the historic environment, and should have the opportunity to contribute

his or her knowledge of the value of places. The European Association of Archaeologists (2017) has a series of codes and principles that require members to take active steps to inform the public about archaeological work. The Canadian Archaeological Association (2017) has objectives that relate to public education and outreach and the Register of Professional Archaeologists (2017), based in the US, has a code of conduct that states archaeologists have a responsibility to the public to appropriately disseminate their work. As the above suggests, it is considered best practice to facilitate the engagement of non-archaeologists in heritage and archaeology and oral history is one way this can be achieved.

The traditional method of interviewing in the narrator's home is no longer the only option for oral history, and this can help integrate oral history with archaeology. Increasingly public venues are being used to capture drop-in narrators as an informal way of capturing memories. Archaeological sites are being used to stimulate memory recall (Belford 2004; Casella 2012; Moshenska 2007) and this is a promising avenue for the combined approach to further explore. Cruikshank and Argounova (2013; Cruikshank 2000) recall Yukon women they interviewed being unable to talk about places without physically visiting them as being at the place is what brought back their memories. The former residents of Mott Farm (Brown 1973) were interviewed whilst walking around the site under the assumption that seeing their former home would focus and contribute positively to recollections. Unexpectedly, though understandably, visiting their former home overwhelmed participants and encouraged personal and emotional memories rather than memories of value to the archaeological study (Brown 1973). Ken Howarth (1999) had noted the potential of local people visiting archaeological sites but did not offer any suggestions for how they could be included in a collaborative way. Using an archaeological site as a nexus of memory can help archaeologists to better understand the excavated remains and material culture (Belford and Ross 2004; Moshenska 2007). The combined approach recognises that expert knowledge exists in the community. It can challenge the dominant historical narrative, offer alternative explanations, and can include the public and community in archaeological work, engaging them with their heritage.

The potential of the combined approach of historical archaeology and oral history has yet to be fully explored. Oral history is already used within Indigenous

archaeology, historical archaeology, community heritage and in museums. In a special issue of the *International Journal of Archaeology* in 2012 several potential areas where archaeology and oral history could work together were proposed (Jones and Russell 2012) these were; memory, identity and belonging, place and displacement, storytelling and epistemologies, archaeology as a medium for the production of memory, and dissonant memories. The relationship between memory and place is particularly important for archaeology as by its very nature it is place-based. Orser (2010) noted that heritage and memory are interlinked because places are imbued with social meaning and Basso (1996) identified that wisdom sits in places. The concept of place attachment is generally understood to refer to the emotional connections people develop with environments that have meaning to them, be it a home, neighborhood, city or landscape (Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004; Lewicka 2010; Lewicka 2011; Scannell and Gifford 2010). Researchers of the concept of place attachment come from different theoretical traditions or fields such as archaeology, history, geography, and psychology. Using the combined approach to provide insight into the changing use of space in a place holds huge potential for the combined approach to investigate displacement, community histories, the home, and urban landscapes. Limited research has been conducted on the consequences of displacement from the home (Fried 1963) and community (High 2016; Jones 2012). Fried (1963) found former residents of a Boston slum displayed symptoms of grief and depression when interviewed about their former homes. Likewise, Jones (2012) discovered narratives of loss and displacement when studying the massive depopulation of the Scottish Highlands. Nora (1989) introduced the concept of "sites of memory" or "Lieux de memoire", places where a sense of historical continuity persists. Memory is attached to sites that are physical places (Basso 1996), such as burial sites or battlefields, and to sites that are non-material such as celebrations and rituals that provide an aura of the past (Massey 1995). Using oral history to provide insight into the changing use of space in a place, how events changed a place and its inhabitants, and place attachment and identity, are theories that potentially could contribute a great deal to the archaeological site reports.

The term "vehicles of memory", coined by Yosef Hayim Yerushalami (1989), suggests religious practices, rituals and texts enable people to remember and share experiences. Archaeology has the potential to act as a vehicle, more specifically an archaeological excavation, sites of fieldwalking, building recordings or watching briefs, plus any objects that come from the site (Hoskins 1998). Memory can be

stored in objects just as it sits in places. A sense of the past can be recalled through objects that represent daily, often mundane, life. Memory is a phenomenon that collects fragments of the past that are stored in texts, objects, images, visions, and dreams (Larsen 2011). There are a wide variety of objects that can serve as memory prompts or aids to encourage participants to recall past events. The term object can be used to describe a wide range of things such as; memory boxes, museums, documentary sources, media, social media, landscapes, archaeological excavations, archaeological finds, commemorative acts, and memorials. Currently memory boxes, collections of objects that represent the way we lived at a certain point in the past, are curated by museums and lent out as part of their engagement work. Objects within memory boxes are loaned out by museums to the community to enable groups to carry out memory work. This is particularly popular for groups who work with people who suffer from memory loss such as people living with Dementia (Chatterjee and Noble 2013). Memory boxes allow for wider participation in archaeology by enabling people to participate via memory boxes to stimulate memory recall. Archaeological finds, or accurate re-creations, can aid memory recall by encouraging memories to be shared based upon the object. Webster and Tolson (2014) argue that an artefact-based approach to oral history results in a more inclusive interview process as the participant does not need any knowledge of the archaeological site itself and knowledge of the objects can give participants the confidence to accept themselves as being experts. Objects can be particularly useful in provoking memory recall and in this way oral history lends itself well to archaeology; objects, documents, maps, photographs and sites.

There are concerns over the reliability of memory, despite the increased popularity and use of oral history, to contribute to historical narratives. There are issues that surround the data reliability of any historical source, however oral history relies on the process of recalling memories which may be influenced by the passing of time. Riley and Harvey (2005) acknowledge the ongoing issues oral history has in being recognised as a credible set of data. The often partial, subjective, ambiguous, tensioned, and contradictory nature of oral history accounts means archaeologists need to be careful in using them however if, as a profession, we can move beyond the opinion that there is a single, truthful historical narrative then we can begin to use these alternative accounts to challenge what we think we know. A verification approach was used for oral testimony in the 1950's in African archaeology (Schmidt 1990) however this approach still places archaeology as the dominant and accurate

source with oral accounts needing to be verified. The example of Inuit Elders at Arivat illustrates one way these concerns can be addressed (Lyons et al 2010). The Inuit Elders used their own form of fact-checking of testimonies debating whose word was the best authority and therefore whose memory was most accurate. Jones (2012) found that the community in Scotland privileged some forms of memory over others, locals over newcomers as those with greater social authority. An integrated approach, where memory is understood, is essential for the combined approach to work in practice. Moshenska (2006) suggests archaeologists need to pay close attention to developments in the field of memory work, particularly elements that relate to material culture, place, and memorials.

Previous work has demonstrated the value of oral history to archaeology. However, this combined approach and application must be critically appreciative of the types and qualities of memory available.

2.2.4 The combined approach for historical working class housing

Typically, historical archaeology will have an element of desk-based study which includes investigating the historic record. There are some examples of the combined approach of archaeology, the historic record and oral history exploring working class housing. One early example of the combined approach applied to working class housing is the historical site of Mott Farm, Rhode Island, USA. Brown (1973) contends that oral history, documentary research, and excavation combined can contribute positively to analyses of change and continuity in the patterning of material environments, and that provision should be made within the discipline of archaeology for oral history, particularly within the context of modern and industrial societies. Historical archaeologists have conducted ethnographies of place (Mayne and Lawrence 1999; Mayne and Murray 2001) demonstrating the potential for documentary, oral and archaeological evidence to work together. There are examples of archaeologists and historians working together to investigate vanished inner city neighbourhoods and reinvestigate the slum stereotypes. Mayne and Murray (2001) introduced methods that underpinned new research agendas, aiming to address distortions embedded in the historical record that confuse the imagined realities of slums with the actualities of working class neighbourhoods.

In the UK Casella and Croucher (2010) conducted a multi-disciplinary research excavation of the Hagg Cottages located in rural Alderley Edge, approximately twenty-five kilometres from Manchester. The dwellings were constructed in the 1740's and comprised two pairs of miner's cottages which were demolished in the 1950's. Although documentary evidence, including photographs, existed for the site it was the memories of three former residents that transformed the excavated site into a living place (Casella and Croucher 2010). It was the oral testimonies that identified objects and features and helped to determine the location of trenches. Although the results were published (Casella and Croucher 2010) they concentrated on presenting the archaeology and artefactual evidence and less was written about the recruitment of the former residents and reflection on the oral history process. Here, oral history was treated as contributing to the archaeology. Similarly, with Belford's (2003; Belford and Ross 2004) work in the industrial landscape of Coalbrookdale, approximately twenty-two kilometres from Shrewsbury, oral history testimony from former residents of the site was welcomed as a supplementary source when investigating previously unexplored parts of the Coalbrookdale industrial landscape. Belford (2003) welcomed visits from former residents of twentieth century tenements which were characterised as slums by the local authority and demolished. Belford and Ross's (2004) report on the site included information on two former residents who had lived in the tenements in the 1920's and who had been welcomed by the archaeologists to the community excavations and encouraged to share their memories of the housing. The approach aimed to move beyond narrow approaches to increase the understanding of people and events previously overlooked by dominant historical narratives (Belford and Ross 2004). The most persuasive evidence for the value of a combined approach in the UK can be seen in the work of Moshenska (2007) who advocates the application of traditional archaeological techniques to historical sites. On a former residential site, occupied from the 1800's, which was bombed during the Blitz in London an oral history project was conducted alongside the excavation of four terraced houses. The excavation took place in a public park and was open to the public to view and take site tours. Moshenska (2007), as the site based oral historian, conducted twenty interviews, eighteen conducted at the site itself, over the course of three weeks. Moshenska (2007) concluded that the information received from the narrators helped the archaeologists better understand the excavated remains. Currently, the dissemination of the oral history methodology and reflection is incomplete within the reporting of the combined approach. Of the above examples, Moshenska (2007) provides the most detailed account of the oral history including the recruitment of

narrators, the methods used to interview and the successes of the approach. The publication of the oral history aspect of a project such as the methodology and reflection should be a future priority for the combined approach.

Oral history can help fill an enormous gap in our understanding of the working class housing experience, particularly for housing that could be described as slum housing or housing in a slum area. “The techniques of oral history, so tellingly applied to the working man by Paul Thompson, have revealed some of the answers to our questions, but we will probably never have a precise picture of the working man’s attitude towards the housing problem and towards overcrowding in particular.” (Wohl 1977, 318). This may be true however oral history can offer a means to access accounts of housing and community life from those who experienced it as children and via oral testimony from narrators who can inform us of the memories their parents shared with them.

2.3 Research methodologies for the combined approach

The combined approach is under-theorised: it lacks a consistent methodological approach and is rarely used within historical archaeology in the UK. It has the potential to do several things. It could identify the location of sites for archaeological investigation with improved accuracy, it could physically place marginalised narratives in the built environment, it could enhance our understanding of why a place evolved over time and there are the narrative possibilities for oral history to illuminate the physical archaeological remains. There are researchers who advocate the combined approach to urban historical landscapes and have pioneered this outside the UK (Beaudry 1988; Mayne and Murray 2001). They propose a multi-disciplinary approach to working class housing interweaving documentary, oral and material evidence. Mayne and Murray (2001) suggest archaeologists should develop appropriate concepts and arguments to interrogate these diverse sources and propose a model for this. They propose that archaeologists should critique stereotypes, should acknowledge they are outsiders to the past and seek local knowledge from those that once occupied the space. Finally, that archaeologists should break down traditional divisions between the disciplines. Within the UK, Moshenska (2007) has proposed a methodology for a combined approach to be applied to a site of former housing. Conducting the interviews on the site of the

excavation while it was live, providing narrators with a site tour prior to the interview and asking narrators to clarify statements such as “over there” provided valuable background research and complementary data (Moshenska 2007). Belford and Ross (2004) used the notebook method to supplement traditional archaeological recording methods. This allowed for greater scope for free thinking and a reflective approach to the archaeological interpretation. This approach could work to record community memories of narrators who visit a site casually. Potentially an audio notebook would be a more suitable method to collect memories, ad hoc interviews and the thoughts of community excavators. This would then be followed up by a more formal, high quality recording for the actual oral history interview.

Beck and Sommerville (2005) argue that place is a useful concept for enabling archaeology and oral history to interact. Historical, working class housing was selected to be the theme for this research into the combined approach as only recently has this type of housing been approached archaeologically. Material from three bodies of evidence has been used as part of this research; archaeological reports of physical structures of housing and neighbourhood, historic documentary material that relates to working class housing and public health, and oral history testimony from former residents of the three archaeological sites being researched. Although this research is conducted from an archaeological perspective it promotes the combined approach, treating archaeological evidence and oral history testimony as equal in importance, aiming to show the potential for UK archaeology to include oral history. Case studies are the most common mode of interpreting the archaeology of households. In this thesis three case studies are presented; court housing in Liverpool (1790-1970), back-to-back housing in Hungate, York (1812-1936) and small-scale employer provided housing in Glasgow (1837-1966).

The period being investigated is considered to be historical, or the post-medieval period. The earliest case study is from 1790, a limited time into the industrial revolution when back houses in Liverpool were being developed into court houses, to 1970, when the last of the court houses in Liverpool were demolished and the repurposed Lower English Buildings had been recently demolished. This period was witness to a rise in public awareness of housing issues, increased public health, and later housing, multiple pieces of legislation, the introduction of the term slum, slum clearances and the introduction of state provided housing.

There are similarities and differences with the three case studies. Court housing, (chap. 4), is a form of back-to-back housing, similar to the housing form discussed in chapter five yet facing a shared courtyard. These housing types are similar in form and layout however their geographical locations differ. Liverpool was a highly industrialised port city with consistently high levels of overcrowding and York was a provincial city with a mix of housing types and sizes within its urban centre. Hungate, York was an industrialised neighbourhood with several factories, mills and slaughterhouses in close proximity to the houses. Similarly, court houses in Liverpool were typically situated close to industrialised places of work. The Lower English Buildings sat on the outskirts of the urban centre of Glasgow however they were on the site of a working iron foundry. Much like with Liverpool and Hungate the Lower English Buildings were privately rented, although from an employer rather than a private landlord. They were single-storey unlike Hungate's back-to-back housing which had two floors and Liverpool's court housing which had two, with an attic room and a cellar. The Lower English Buildings and Hungate were the focus of large-scale public archaeology projects with commercial excavations a central part. Each archaeologically explored working class housing for the first time in their respective locations, although this theme wasn't the sole focus of the excavations.

Methodologically, this thesis proposes five potential ways of using the combined approach. Firstly, the narrator could visit the site while the excavation is live and take part in an interview in-situ, as per Moshenska (2007). Next, the narrator could take part in an interview at a location other than the site of excavation but while the excavation is live thus providing an opportunity to visit the site at an earlier or later time, as with the Lower English Buildings (Morton et al 2008). The narrator could take part in an interview at a location other than the site of excavation but while the excavation is live and photographs and objects could be used within the interview to stimulate memory recall, similar to the approach used by Webster and Tolson (2014). Next, an interview could be conducted with the narrator pre-excavation where they may or may not know an excavation is due to take place, as at Hungate (Wilson 2007) and in Liverpool. Finally, an interview could be conducted with a narrator post-excavation where they may or may not know an excavation has taken place. Potentially the material from the excavation could be used in the oral history interview.

The housing experience

For the purpose of this research the definition of a house is a place where people reside, live and carry out daily, residential activities. The housing experience refers to how the physicality of the dwelling and immediate neighbourhood impacted its inhabitants, the physical relationship they had with the dwelling and how the house was experienced. Although the term working class will be used throughout to describe the community of people living in the housing forms discussed this research is not investigating or aiming to define class. This research will argue against investigating the people who inhabited these places and promote investigating place as class is a person, not place, premise. Contemporary ways of describing the working classes include Roberts (1855) using terms like “working part of the community”, “poorer classes”, “working man”, “lowest class of persons” and “industrious classes”. Engels (1845) describes the people he observed as “property-less”, “proletariat”, “non-possessing class” and the “worthy poor” and Hare (1864) uses terms such as “lower classes”, “people who are earning their subsistence by their labour”, “working classes” and “labouring classes”. Within archaeology the term workers’ housing is frequently used. Working class allows for a broader description of the residents who inhabited these housing forms. For the purpose of this research the term narrator is used to describe the person being interviewed and providing their memories. Interviewee doesn’t seem to appropriately recognise their contribution whereas respondent implies they are simply responding to questions rather than contributing to the knowledge of a project. The current best practice is to use the term narrator (Abrams 2010) to describe them. If they are involved in a community archaeology project they may be a participant in many activities of the project so using participant to describe them doesn’t accurately distinguish between sharing personal memories and taking part more generally.

There are common themes that appear regularly in the contemporary literature when researching working class housing of the historical period, as discussed in chapter three. These themes have influenced the housing experience elements developed for this research and used to identify the potential survival across the bodies of evidence. The elements of the housing experience fall into four categories; the building materials and amenities of the houses, the size of the houses and the number of people occupying them, the sanitation and the wider neighbourhood.

Elements of the housing experience

A series of elements have been identified as necessary to an understanding of the working class housing experience from approximately 1790 in Britain. These elements frequently appear in the legislation on housing and public health (chap. 3), in the literature discussed in 2.21, and have the potential to appear in archaeology, the historical record and in memory, and inform on the housing experience. These elements are as follows;

- Quality of construction, neglect of repairs
- Building materials
- Layout
- Windows (light)
- Conditions, dampness, temperature
- Room use
- Amenities in dwelling, fixtures and fittings
- Size of property
- Room dimensions
- Overcrowding, frequency of occupation, sleeping arrangements
- Sanitation, washing, toilets
- Water supply
- Drainage, waste removal
- Decoration, flooring, white wash, plaster
- Shared amenities
- Ventilation
- Wider neighbourhood
- Sense of community

Predicted survival of elements of the housing experience

The potential and differential survival of the elements of the housing experience has been postulated prior to the research being started. Table 2.1 shows the possibilities for inference on these elements of the housing experience against the different methodological approaches of a combined approach.

Archaeology can be interpreted to mean the physical archaeological remains uncovered during excavation. For archaeology the survival is dependent upon the success of the demolition following clearance programmes and site reuse. This likely means that only the foundations, cellars or ground floor layouts are preserved. Identifying the room use is dependent on the material culture and in situ amenities such as a sink. Building recordings take place on extant structures and the survival is dependent upon the level of reuse and the amount of adaptation that has taken place. Documentary evidence includes photographs, legislation and by-laws, contemporary written accounts and historic maps. The survival rate varies.

The survival of memory varies but for the housing experience it is primarily dependent on the age of the narrator when they lived in the house in addition to other general memory-related concerns such as the age of the narrator at the time of the interview. The age of the narrator at the time of the interview is relevant as it is important to recognise that memory deteriorates with age and to acknowledge that the memories being recalled were formed when the narrator was a child. These memories were formed in childhood, viewed through the lens of adolescence and with the cognition of a child. However, when recalled as an adult, these memories have been processed, filtered, influenced by, and negotiated by adulthood. In addition to the potential deterioration of memory over time and actively forgetting (Connerton 2008), childhood memories are vulnerable to reconstruction and errors (Kingo et al 2013; Wang and Peterson 2016). They are malleable, not fixed, and generally there is a scarcity of memories for earlier life events (Wang and Gulgoz 2019) although research suggests that recollection improves with age (Tustin and Hayne 2019) and potentially narrators who were older children at the time when life events took place could contribute memories. Within historical archaeology Moshenska (2018) has successfully used memory narratives to construct an anthropology of childhood in Second World War Britain. Moshenska (2018) established that narrators recalled alternative narratives of objects such as gas masks and bombsites. As children the narrators had reshaped objects and places of

conflict into toys and playgrounds. These memories of childhood provided an alternative and unique perspective.

Issues of the time depth potential of oral history and the time period to which it can be considered relevant are also a concern. Within Indigenous communities' tribal memory has demonstrated memories of place can survive across generations (Basso 1996; Lyons et al 2006) and therefore these deep time memories can push the potential of oral history beyond living generations of narrators. For the housing experience of working class people in urban areas in the UK, memory is typically only available from the living generation, those that experienced the housing themselves. These narrators may have information on the housing and landscape prior to their memories, knowledge gained from parents and grandparents, however they are unable to provide deep time memories of the landscape. Oral history, therefore, has the potential to provide first-hand memories of the housing experience discussed in this thesis from the early twentieth century only, and not before.

Element of the housing experience	**Archaeology-excavation**	**Archaeology-building recording**	**Oral History**	**Documentary**
Quality of construction, neglect of repairs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Building materials	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Layout	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Windows (light)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Conditions, dampness, temperature	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Room use	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Amenities in dwelling, fixtures and fittings	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Size of property	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Room dimensions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Overcrowding, frequency of occupation, sleeping arrangements	No	No	Yes	Yes
Sanitation, washing, toilets	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Water supply	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Drainage, waste removal	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Decoration (lime wash, plaster, flooring)	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Shared amenities	No	No	Yes	Yes
Ventilation	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wider neighbourhood	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Sense of community	No	No	Yes	No

Table 2.1: Table of predicted survival of the housing experience

The elements within table 2.1 were developed to provide a framework to assess the housing experience. They focus on the basic structure of the house itself plus amenities such as water supply and fixtures and fittings. The elements were

identified as key features of urban working class housing during the literature review of housing studies. For many of the elements listed within table 2.1 a simple yes or no is too limiting an answer. For many of the elements the most accurate prediction is 'potentially'. However, the author has attempted to provide a yes or no answer considering the best-case scenario-if conditions were perfect, would the predicted survival be possible for each of these elements? This framework was then used to assess the evidence available or each of the three case studies.

As an example, within archaeology, identifying evidence of the wider neighbourhood will be limited according to the scope of the project and the extent of the excavation. For some elements the different sources are likely to provide different pieces of information such as room dimensions. Archaeology can offer an accurate measurement while oral history can only offer an approximation. The most variable is perhaps the oral history as this evidence is dependent upon identifying appropriate narrators, asking the right questions in the interview, issues regarding the fragility of memory and the willingness of the narrator to answer the questions.

This thesis followed a methodological approach to selecting the case studies as follows; the author excavated the Lower English Buildings site as Site Supervisor for Headland Archaeology. The innovative approach to have the narrator who had lived in the Lower English Buildings interpret the structural remains was the foundation of the proposal for this study. The M74 road completion project was pioneering in its approach to public archaeology within commercial archaeology demonstrating an inclusive approach to using oral history testimony to interpret industrial archaeological remains, with the employment of a dedicated oral historian. During the time of the Hungate excavations the author was employed by York Archaeological Trust and worked on a commercial site at Heslington East. The author grew up in York and had family members who lived in Tang Hall, one of the new-build neighbourhoods for those displaced from Hungate. York Archaeological Trust is a pioneer for embedding community archaeology and training within large scale commercial sites. Identifying a large body of oral history interviews with former residents of Hungate made it a clear choice to be a case study for the combined approach. Liverpool was selected as a case study as, thanks to the Museum of Liverpool, the author was able to conduct the oral history interviews myself and was fortunate enough to have a colleague who shared an interest in working class

housing who was keen to record memories of court housing for the museum collections. It worked well to be interviewing on behalf of the museum as this led to the recruitment of narrators via high profile methods like BBC Radio Merseyside and the Liverpool Echo newspaper. Sadly, the excavations at Pembroke Place took place in late July 2018 and so the site reports were not available for inclusion in this study. Potential alternatives for case studies included some inner-city neighbourhoods in Manchester. Angel Meadow, for example, had the relatives of former residents visit the excavations (Miller and Wild 2015) however the potential sites were not as informative as the case studies selected for this thesis.

This research provides information on common working class housing types, once prevalent in the British urban landscape. The approach for this research wasn't fixed beforehand, it evolved with each case study so as to suit the data sets available. The Lower English Buildings (in Glasgow) was the first case study examined since the author had personal experience of excavating the site and was familiar with the archaeological evidence. The examination of court housing (in Liverpool) was the next study developed since the author collected the oral history narratives and helped to develop the archaeological research agenda for a potential site of excavation. Finally, Hungate (in York) was the final case study developed since it took some time to confirm access to the oral history interviews, conducted in 1993, and the excavation of various areas and trenches was ongoing, with the reports gradually becoming available. The Lower English Buildings (chap. 6) was an ideal site to start with due to the author's familiarity with the material and the limited number of oral history narrators, one former resident of the Lower English Buildings, another of the iron foundry site and a further with "post-memory" (Hirsch 1997). The questions asked of the narrators by a professional oral historian helped shape the themes and questions later used in the Liverpool interviews. The Liverpool interviews and research helped prompt conversations between the Museum of Liverpool and the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine (LSTM) that has resulted in a Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) supported collaboration to explore court housing archaeologically. Hungate offered the most detailed opportunity to explore the combined approach as the excavations investigated a large area of Hungate and oral history project collected a large number of interviews. Investigating this case study last allowed the research to develop an approach to better suit the increased data sets and overcome issues with the time that lapsed from the oral histories being collected and the excavations taking place. When developing a new research

method without pre-existing forms of agreed practice, an adaptable approach allows freedom to respond to the changing research challenges as evidence is collected. What remained consistent is the researcher analysing the material, the methodological framework for the combined approach and the conviction that evidence from archaeology, documentary research, and oral history should be treated equally.

Archaeology is frequently multi-disciplinary, using various sources to investigate landscapes. Documentary material is usually accessed at the desk-based assessment stage of a project, prior to excavation. This thesis made use of the desk-based research conducted as part of the documentary archaeology of the three case studies. Additional primary sources were consulted including legislation, poverty surveys, photographs and other written documents relevant to the housing experience. Archaeological reports and heritage assessments were consulted to research the housing experience in the archaeological record. For the examination of court housing in Liverpool (chap. 4) the Museum of Liverpool and Dr Liz Stewart kindly provided research that had been conducted for the creation of a reconstruction of court housing within the museum, the text from a then unpublished book (Stewart 2019) and a copy of the heritage statement for Pembroke Place (De Figueiredo 2014). The author had previously conducted some des- based research on Pembroke Place and conducted several site visits to assess the interiors of the court houses, a geo-physical survey of the yard with the Young Archaeologists' Club and a limited-scope building recording for this research, aided by Dr Liz Stewart. For research on Hungate (chap. 5) some of the archaeology reports were available open access on the Dig Hungate website and others were sent to the author by York Archaeological Trust (YAT) archaeologists Pete Connelly and Dr Jayne Rimmer who directed the excavations and documentary research of the site. Both archaeologists kindly hosted a site visit for the author as the back rooms, yards and toilets were being excavated. For the Lower English Buildings (chap. 6) the archaeological report was provided to the author by Headland Archaeology and a copy of *The Glasgow We Used to Know* (Drew 2011) was kindly provided by Russell Coleman from Headland Archaeology. The author was familiar with the archaeology of the Lower English Buildings as they worked as Site Supervisor for HAPCA and so excavated the site, contributed to producing the site matrix and provided summaries to the Project Officer, Sophie Nicol, for inclusion in the site report.

Case Study	Project	Project designer	Project excavator	Project interviewer	Access to data	Analysis of data
Court Housing in Liverpool 1790-1970 Chap.4	Oral history- *Our Humble Abodes* (MoL) Archaeology- n/a	Oral history- author and Dr Liz Stewart on behalf of MoL Archaeology- n/a	N/a	Author and Dr Liz Stewart	Oral history- full access and fully transcribed Archaeology- N/a	Oral history- analysed by author Archaeology- N/a
Back-to-back housing in Hungate, York 1812-1936 Chap.5	Oral history- YOHS (*St Saviourgate Research Project*) Archaeology- YAT	Oral history- YOHS Archaeology- YAT	YAT	YOHS	Oral history- restricted access and no transcripts Archaeology- full access to site reports	Oral history- partially transcribed by author for purpose of this research Archaeology- housing elements extracted from reports for analysis by author
Lower English Buildings,	Oral history- Dr David	Oral history- Dr David	Author as Site Supervis	Dr David Walker	Oral history- full	Oral history- housing

Glasgow 1837-1966 Chap.6	Walker Archaeology-HAPCA	Walker Archaeology-HAPCA *Author provided questions for oral history interviews as the Site Supervisor of the Lower English Buildings	or for HAPCA		access and transcript Archaeology- full access to site reports	elements extracted and analysed by author for purpose of this research Archaeology-Lower English Buildings information extracted from site report for analysis by author for purpose of this research

Table 2.2: Table showing the responsibilities for the data sets of the case studies

For Liverpool, the oral history interviews were conducted specifically for this thesis and no prior oral history interviews on court housing had taken place. The questions asked during an oral history interview must vary to suit the situation. They cannot be fixed, though a series of themes may be developed to frame the questions. The author used the housing experience elements, developed specifically for this thesis, to form a series of questions and additional questions responded to the narrator's responses (Appendix B provides an example). For Hungate, the oral history audio

tapes were accessed via their repository the York Oral History Society (YOHS) with thanks to Van Wilson. Gaining access to the Hungate oral history interviews took some time. For much of the research period they were housed within York Library which was closed for renovations for several years. More recently they were re-housed within the York Oral History Society collections, a repository which is volunteer run and within a private office at the Community and Voluntary Service in York, manned on an ad hoc basis. The paperwork regarding permissions for the Hungate oral histories was not made available so, for each of the case studies, including Liverpool where the author ensured the correct permissions were agreed upon with the narrators, the initials of narrators have been used rather than their full names. Although the Hungate oral histories had been used by Van Wilson (Wilson 2007) previously, they hadn't been used with a specific focus on housing. For the purpose of this research the author partially transcribed the interviews and has presented housing experience specific memories within this thesis. For the Lower English Buildings, the three transcripts were kindly supplied by the oral historian on the M74 project, Dr David Walker, from their repository the Scottish Oral History Centre Archives (SOHCA). The transcripts were typed in full, including the interviewers' questions, several of which were provided by the site-based archaeologists, including the author.

2.4 Summary

The primary aims of this research were two-fold, to test the value and use of an approach combining evidence from oral history, documentary evidence and archaeology (hereafter called the combined approach) and to contribute to our understanding of the housing experience. This research develops a combined approach by bringing together archaeological, documentary and oral history testimony from three case studies, which form the content of chapters four, five and six. Within the two primary research questions were the following additional questions;

- How can archaeology, the historic record and oral history work as a combined approach?
- What can this combined approach contribute to our understanding of the working class housing experience from 1790-1970.

- Can the combined approach challenge our understanding of the housing experience, develop our knowledge of the housing experience, provide insight that may otherwise go unrecorded, provide an alternative view, challenge and contradict?
- What survives across the different bodies of data and do they concur or challenge each other?

Oral history narrators are community experts and can participate in archaeology as collaborators, rather than simply contributors. They can work with archaeologists to set the research agenda, representing their community while interpreting physical archaeological structures and objects. The combined approach, memory work alongside traditional archaeology, can enable the community to be involved in a meaningful way, contributing first-hand knowledge of the physical landscape and the people who inhabited it. Oral history provides the opportunity to capture accounts of the housing experience that may otherwise go unrecorded. This thesis developed a framework for the combined approach that goes beyond a single site, a critical look at what survives in the difference sources of evidence and so what the potential for the combined approach is and developed an approach that treats archaeology and oral history as equals rather than one as a supplementary source.

This thesis concludes that the use of oral history within historical archaeology in the UK should be a priority, and as will be argued at the end, this can be achieved with an extension to forms of archaeological training and a greater embedding of the collection of this form of evidence within relevant archaeological briefs for the commissioning of archaeological fieldwork and research.

Chapter Three: Research context and themes

3.1 Research context and themes

This chapter investigates what is already known about working class housing and the housing experience of its inhabitants from approximately 1790 until 1970, what the gaps in the knowledge are and how the combined approach might attempt to fill the gaps. It looks at the legislation and developments that occurred, the types of housing that existed and the reasons why working class housing took so long to improve. It is within this context that this research can look at how the combined approach can help archaeologists to better understand the housing experience.

The housing experience of the working classes in the late eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth century is often considered, by popular consciousness, to be negative. The housing of the working classes is mostly viewed as being unhealthy, insanitary and slum-like with its inhabitants living a life of squalor and crime. Housing and public heath were inseparably linked for many years and housing could not be improved without improved public health and vice versa.

There were various forms of working class housing such as model housing, employer provided housing and privately rented accommodation. Commonly privately rented accommodation had significantly declined in their quality and became known as slums. Slums were a form of housing that had fallen into disrepair, dilapidated, overcrowded, without sanitation or drainage, older buildings close to industry and so experienced a high turnover of residents but were occupied continuously.

The working classes of the nineteenth century are generally mute and the working classes of the twentieth century are a whisper with only a limited number of accounts from those with lived experience. Oral history and oral tradition can help to address this gap although perhaps this may only capture the exceptional rather than the typical and the memories have the potential to be tainted by collective memory. However, it is not currently known what the housing experience was like from those who experienced it directly and potentially oral history, as part of the combined

approach, can help with this. By exploring the documentary evidence available for the housing experience and exploring the history of housing through legislation, key building events and social investigations the gaps in the knowledge of the working class housing experience will become evident.

3.2 Understanding the housing experience

Inadequate and substandard housing long pre-dated the industrial revolution, but it increased in that era of rapid urbanisation and widespread overcrowding. Many places had an existing housing stock that included large properties that were easily divided to maximise profits (Rees 2001). Casual workers were inclined to base themselves close to places of potential employment, urban centres and ports, which coincided with where the oldest buildings and housing were located. To meet the rising demand for low cost accommodation, houses were constructed in the rear yards and streets surrounding the existing houses and multi roomed properties were developed to provide for multi occupancies. It was impossible for those without a steady income, or a disposable income, to spend on their home or living environment. For many years housing was part of the public health agenda rather than being a priority in its own right. There was no clearly defined housing policy between 1850 and 1880 and all legislation on housing up to 1875 fell within public health legislation and law.

Sutcliffe (1972) suggests that during the first half of the nineteenth century new housing was constructed for all sections of the working class but by the mid-century builders were concentrating their efforts on building homes for skilled workers, workers with regular employment and higher wages. Then, the shorter working hours of some skilled workers enabled them to travel to their place of employment and so they could live outside of the urban centre, in houses constructed on cheaper land. There were conscious efforts to improve the quality of working class housing in the second half on the nineteenth century including the emergence of philanthropic and charitable organisations, building by-laws and slum clearance programmes. From the 1880's there was a shift in perspective towards housing and ideologies with the introduction of utopian planning via council housing estates and garden cities (Rodger 1995). Often, the efforts of public health campaigners contributed to the housing situation by increasing overcrowding as a result of demolition schemes.

Street improvements, such as railway construction and sanitary measures, led to a loss of cheap housing which resulted in overcrowding in other already overcrowded urban areas. However, Rimmer (1960) and Chapman (1971) identified overcrowded areas of substandard housing occupied by casual labourers before 1850.

3.2.1 The history of working class housing

Legislation

Throughout the 1840's public health was a focus for reformers and legislators, but they concentrated on the urban environment in general rather than housing in particular. Tarn (1971) argues that there were various agencies working independently that gradually contributed to common knowledge of housing issues in the nineteenth century including building economics, house planning, housing management, with attempts to find solutions or help advance the housing movement.

In 1838 Edwin Chadwick, then working with the Poor Law, wrote to the Home Secretary suggesting that legislation be introduced to regulate the future building of houses for the working classes to ensure that none were built without appropriate drainage although no action was taken. In 1841 the Health of Towns Select Committee investigated health related issues in urban areas and concluded that building acts were not universal or standard across towns and so proposed the Buildings Regulations Bill, the Borough Improvements Bill and the Drainage of Towns Bill with The Health of Towns Association later being formed in 1844. Their role was to disseminate information about housing conditions. Chadwick and early public health reformers agreed that until drainage and water systems were improved the morbid effects of insanitary housing would continue. They stressed the importance of street paving, street cleansing, sewers, drainage, water supply and noted their link to housing conditions, poverty and health. Potentially this view was contaminated due to its association with the increasingly unpopular Chadwick (Rodger 1995). The ultimate outcome of Chadwick's research, and that of his researchers, and report was the 1848 Public Health Act where, for the first time, the government took on the responsibility of safeguarding the health of the public. Chadwick believed, and challenged statistics that suggested otherwise, that overcrowding was increasing and blamed the differing definitions of house rendering

any comparison invalid (Flinn 1965). Chadwick's report included research and suggestions on drainage, sanitation, water supply, overcrowding, ventilation, disease and mortality rates, the economic cost of ill-health and the social costs of bad quality housing. He insisted that employing qualified men for public health positions was vital however at that period in time there were misunderstandings about the nature and spread of disease. There was little immediate action as a result of the Report of the Sanitary Condition in 1842 although a Royal Commission on the Health of Towns was established. The Commission provided an interim report in 1844 and a final report in 1845 which echoed the conclusions of Chadwick's 1842 Report. Its importance lies in the range of topics it covered and that poverty was included. It called for an Inspector of Housing and an administrative body to oversee drainage, street paving, cleansing and water supply recommending that sanitary regulations be introduced, and common lodging houses be placed under police control.

The Towns Improvements Clauses Act 1847 attempted to consolidate previous legislation relating to paving, drainage, cleansing, lighting in public streets into one act. A street could be translated to mean road, square, court and alley. It proposed appointing an Inspector of Nuisances, a Surveyor and an Officer of Health to carry out the work which involved producing a map of the district with all the existing sewers, drains and water pipes marked on it. It suggested that drainage districts be established with the powers to construct sewers where none existed and set out that no new houses were to be constructed without drains. Homeowners were to provide a privy, pave the area of street abutting their property and could sell their properties for the purpose of demolishing to improve the street. Ruinous buildings were to be demolished or secured, fire prevention and control measures were introduced, lodging houses were required to be registered and cellar dwellings were prohibited unless they met certain standards.

Some towns had their own local legislation to improve conditions in the built urban environment, for example in 1842 new dwellings in Leeds and Liverpool were required to be connected to a sewer. At a local level Medical Officers of Health were key figures in the development of housing policy and in identifying areas of low quality, slum, housing (Pooley and Irish 1994). Medical observers concluded that poor housing, specifically airless and dirty living conditions, resulted in a high

mortality rate with court housing and cellar dwellings identified in public health pamphlets as the types of housing that provided an airless and dirty existence to residence. They commented that these property types lacked proper sanitation and drainage, lacked a water supply, lacked adequate ventilation, were poorly constructed and of cheap materials and the yards and streets surrounding these properties were not cleaned.

The Public Health Act 1848 developed the earlier Towns Improvement Clauses Act 1847. It placed the responsibility of water supply, sewerage, drainage and the cleaning and paving of streets under one local authority and required them to appoint positions such as an Officer of Health. The local board of health were responsible for enforcing legislation such as ensuring sewers did not cause a nuisance, ensuring drains were covered and ensuring people had access to a privy or closet and they could compel frontage owners to pave the street abutting their property. They were responsible for street sweeping and cleaning and for accepting registrations of lodging houses. The Officer of Health had powers to order houses to be purified and whitewashed. It became unlawful to let a cellar as accommodation unless the cellar was at least seven feet high, had ventilation to ground level, had drainage, a fireplace, windows and access to a privy or closet. The contents of this act, so closely resembling the Towns Improvement Clauses Act 1847, represented the newly acquired understanding that the built urban environment and public health were closely related.

A General Board of Health was established under the 1848 Public Health Act. Tarn (1971) suggests the 1848 Public Health Act was the foundation for all subsequent legislation and is considered to be a milestone in English sanitary history. Tarn (1971) also suggests that housing only became a matter of public concern as a result of public health which is an accurate conclusion given the evidence. James Newlands, in his 1848 report to the Health Committee, commented “Dense masses crowded in small space generate miasms hungry for life, which grow with what they feed upon…thus it seems that space, light and ventilation are essentials of health.” (Newlands 1848, 106). The Nuisances Removal and Diseases Prevention (Amendment) Act 1855 consolidated the previous acts of 1848 and 1849 due to the previous legislation being considered defective. It stated that premises in such a state as to be a nuisance or injurious to health could be entered by the Sanitary

Inspector who could examine and remove the nuisance. It reconfirmed that owners must provide sufficient privy accommodation, ventilation and drainage with penalties for those failing to respond to the Act.

Some local authorities had started to regulate building under by-laws as a result of the Public Health Act 1858. Concerns over the sanitation of back-to-back housing led to the housing form being banned from being constructed in Manchester 1844 and in Liverpool in 1861. The Sanitary Act 1866 amended the law regarding public health. Developed from the Sewage Utilisation Act 1865 it provided powers to the Sewer Authority to form a committee and establish a drainage district. It stated that owners within an authority were entitled to empty drains into the sewers of that authority. The Sewer Authority could specify that houses without drains be provided with one and they were responsible for providing a water supply. The definition of nuisances was expanded to include houses that were overcrowded as to be dangerous to health. Nuisances were the responsibility of the Nuisance Authority who, with the support of a medical practitioner, could order a house be cleansed or whitewashed. Additional legislation regarding lodging houses was introduced which included regulating the number of residents, insisting residents be registered, enforcing privy regulations, ventilation and lime whiting. However, in the annual reports the Medical Officer for Health produced the Officer in Hackney noted that actioning this clause in the 1866 Sanitary Act would leave 10,000 people homeless and called on powers to build new housing for the displaced.

The next era in the history of housing reform were the improvements laws. Building regulations are generally available for the first time in the 1860's but their impact was dampened by erratic local enforcement issues, clarified by the Royal Commission report in 1871 (Rodger 1995). It took years for building regulations to be enforced. Increased compulsory accountability from legislation such as The Artisans' Dwelling Act 1868, also known as Torren's Act, gave local authorities the powers to force landlords to repair insanitary housing or face compulsory purchase. The Artisans and Labourers Dwellings Act 1868 made it possible to demolish or improve dwellings occupied by working men but without the obligation to rehome those displaced. The adoption of building controls after 1875 brought considerable improvements to layout, construction and amenities. The Artisans' Dwelling Act 1875, also known as Cross's Act, increased these powers enabling local authorities

to compulsory purchase whole districts to implement slum clearance programmes. These acts may have contributed to overcrowding elsewhere as there was no provision for those displaced. By 1909 (1890 in London) local authorities were obligated to provide housing for half of those displaced. The 1875 Act did include a clause to rehome those displaced, but this obligation fell to local authorities and Dr G W Child commented in 1878 (Rubenstein 1974, account 83) that despite the Artisans' Dwellings Act 1875, overcrowding was increasing and remained a danger.

The Public Health Act 1875 consolidated and amended previous public health legislation in England, and made it applicable country wide, but not in Scotland, Ireland or London. Within this legislation the term house included schools, factories and buildings that employed more than twenty people. Sewers remained the responsibility of the local authority. The public were able to complain about nuisances injurious to health with a Surveyor or the Inspector of Nuisances following up on the complaint. This potentially represented increased control for private citizens. The local authority would continue to cleanse the streets and remove refuse however they could now create by-laws to empower occupiers to take responsibility for the condition of pavements, house refuse, privies, ashpits and closets. Medical Officers of Health could order the cleaning, white washing, of a house that was in a filthy or unwholesome condition as to affect the health of residents, now with a financial penalty for those unwilling to comply. The local authority was responsible for providing a pure and wholesome source of water with financial penalties in place for those who would corrupt the water supply. Cellars could only be let as dwellings under certain conditions including being seven feet high and at least six inches above street level with drainage, access to a water closet or privy and ashpit, with appropriate doors and fittings, a fireplace with a chimney and flue, and an external window that could be opened. Cellar dwellings that did not adhere to the legislation would be closed. Lodging houses continued to be subject to registration and inspection with local authorities having powers to create by-laws to fix the number of residents, to promote cleanliness and ventilation with lodging houses required to be white washed in April and October every year. Much of the legislation enabled the demolition of properties that were deemed to be nuisances or prevented the letting of premises previously occupied by infected persons. A lack of suitable and affordable housing meant that conditions failed to improve.

The Public Health (Water) Act 1878 amended the water related legislation covered in the Public Health Act 1875 to include rural areas. It provided that it was the duty of rural authorities to ensure every dwelling had access to a wholesome supply of water and it prevented houses in rural areas from being constructed without a sufficient water supply. The Public Health Act 1875 (Support of Sewers) Amendment Act 1883 supported the construction and management of public sewers in mining districts and incorporated the Waterworks Clauses Act 1847 into the Public Health Act 1875. The Public Health Amendment Act 1890 amended existing legislation further. Part Three of the Act had a focus on sanitation. It prevented the contamination of sewers, made it unlawful to occupy, as a dwelling, sleeping or workplace, a room above a privy and made it unlawful to build on contaminated land. Local authorities were given powers to make by-laws for sanitary purposes including to ensure the removal of noxious matter, to sweep and clean courts and charge this to the owner and prevent buildings not intended to be a dwelling place for being used as such.

In the late 1880's travel had become much more affordable in London resulting in the suburbs being developed which reduced the pressure on the urban housing stock however it made the differences of working class and slum housing even more obvious. Elsewhere suburbanisation was slower to develop but followed the same pattern. Dissatisfaction with Torren's and Cross's Act's meant that housing reform was pushed to the top of the agenda with the first Royal Commission on working class housing taking place in 1884 (Rodger 1995). The Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes 1885 was carried out between March 1884 and February 1885. One hundred and nineteen witnesses were interviewed in England with further witnesses interviewed in Scotland and Ireland. There were sixteen members in the commission which included prominent figures such as Sir Charles Dilke, the Prince of Wales, Lord Salisbury, Sir Richard Cross and William Torrens. The commission enquired into the housing conditions of the working classes and found severe urban overcrowding and a lack of sanitation. The Housing of the Working Classes Act 1885 amended the previous legislation contained in the Artisans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Acts 1875-1882 and was extended to include all urban sanitary districts. It was the duty of local authorities to secure proper sanitary provisions for all premises within their control. Local authorities had powers to make by-laws for matters contained within the Public Health Act 1875 particularly relating to nuisances, including overcrowding. The Housing of the

Working Classes Act of 1890 followed the report of the Royal Commission which consolidated and extended earlier legislation. The Housing of the Working Classes Act 1900 extended previous legislation to include boroughs and provided powers to acquire land. Burnett (1978) suggests the 1890 Act achieved more than its predecessors as the climate of public opinion was in favour of housing reform. The 1890 Housing Act contained three sections under which local authorities could finance slum clearance programmes although it didn't significantly develop the powers available prior to the Act. Urban demolition put pressure on local authorities to rehome those displaced however Rodger (1995) argues that excessive compulsory purchase costs resulted in rent increases due to the popularity of city centre housing. There was a development of social theory around this period, that the state had a responsibility for the welfare of its residents. Part Three of The Working Classes Act 1890 enabled local authorities to initiate new housing schemes rather than simply erect new housing on cleared urban sites.

The Public Health (Scotland) Act 1897 defined nuisances, prohibited offensive trades and made provisions for houses in a filthy state to be purified. It set out ways in which infectious and epidemic diseases could be prevented and mitigated. With regard to housing it set out rules on underground dwellings, regulated lodging houses and regulated sewers, drains and water supplies. Much of the legislation contained within was identical to the earlier English Public Health Acts such as nuisances were defined as premises injurious to health, owners with houses in an unwholesome condition could be compelled to whitewash and cellars could only be let as a dwelling if they complied with regulations.

In 1900 the Housing Act 1890 was amended to enable local authorities to purchase land beyond their boundaries. The Housing Act 1903 tightened housing obligations for slum clearance programmes and completed the process of providing the central government with the responsibility of powers concerning demolitions. The Housing, Town Planning Act 1908/9 allowed the government to compel local authorities to adopt part III of the 1890 Housing Act. Wohl (1977) considers this to be significant as it marked the entry of the government into house construction and were able to pressure local authorities to develop their own housing estates. The Town Planning Act 1909 regulated urban development but did not allow local authorities to compulsory purchase beyond their boundaries. Rodger (1995) argues that before

1914 town planning initiatives did not address the problems of working class housing.

In 1918 the Tudor Walters Committee on standards of post-First World War local authority housing proposed minimum standards. These minimum standards included that housing should be two-storeys with room for private spaces and a sufficient number of bedrooms for occupants. This highlights the views that housing should allow for separation of the sexes and children for decency however for many of the working classes these proposals were not an affordable option. The Housing, Town Planning Act 1919, Part One, dealt with the duty of local authorities regarding housing schemes. It was intended to amend the legislation regarding working class housing and set out that the local authority had a duty to consider the housing needs of their area and, within three months, prepare and submit details of a scheme where they will provide local authority housing. Curiously, if possible, the schemes should preserve the existing architectural, historic or artistic interests of the area. Local authorities had powers to acquire houses, buildings and land to be used for housing the working classes and to acquire houses that could be made suitable as housing for the working classes. There was a relaxation on by-laws with a focus to easing the construction of buildings for habitation however by-laws preventing overcrowding, separating sexes, drainage, cleanliness, ventilation and water supply were all adhered to. Additional legislation for plans included ensuring adequate lighting in common stairwells, fire safety measures, the paving of courts, the provision of handrails, adequate lighting in every room and prohibited the letting of a property to more than one family. The Housing Act 1919 provided subsidies to local authorities and private builders to build affordable housing for low income inhabitants including council house estates. In 1930 a slum clearance subsidy was available to encourage local authorities to demolish the remaining slums and rehouse the displaced. In 1933 local authorities were required to prepare five-year plans to demolish slums. The Second World War resulted in approximately a third of Britain's housing stock being demolished and led to temporary housing being built, prefabricated houses known as prefabs. By 1967, 900,000 slum houses had been demolished with approximately two and a half million people rehoused.

The Public Health Act 1925 amended the previous public health legislation (1875-1907) and set out street widths, including providing powers to widen streets and

extended powers regarding drainage. Nuisances to health were extended to include tents, vans and sheds used for human habitation. Houses infected with vermin were to be vacated and cleansed which involved the removal of wall paper and treatment of inhabitants and their clothing. The definition of vermin included insects, parasites, their eggs, larvae and pupae. Residents of lodging houses could also be inspected, and these houses closed if a nuisance was found and housing was to be provided to those who were employed by hospitals. The Housing Act 1930, also known as the Greenwood Act, set out the provisions with respect to the clearance or improvement of unhealthy areas rather than dwellings. The local authority had the powers to declare an unhealthy area to be cleared and had powers to compulsory purchase. It also set out the responsibilities of local authorities to ensure the repair or demolition of insanitary housing and the rehousing of displaced inhabitants upon the realisation that slum clearance without rehousing was ineffective. The local authority, if they considered a property or area to be in disrepair or insanitary to the extent it was not for human habitation, could clear the area provided they had made provisions to house those displaced.

The Housing Act 1936 consolidated previous legislation from 1925-1935. It set out the duties of local authorities regarding the inspection of houses, to make and enforce by-laws and the repair, closing and demolition of insanitary premises. It provided the local authority with powers to act on official reports that a house was unfit for human habitation and maintained powers to close a building, repair or demolish. It set out powers to reimburse those who were displaced their moving expenses and any costs incurred due to the interruption of business. The Public Health Act 1936 included the duties for the local authority to provide for the sewerage of their district and prevent the construction of buildings that had not properly considered their sewers and drains. The local authority was to treat sewage as a nuisance that must be purified before being discharged. Privately owned sewers could be drained into public sewers with new buildings to have appropriate drains in place for this and existing buildings be required to meet these standards or face being identified as a nuisance. Owners were required to ensure closets were provided and suitably ventilated and every workplace must be provided with sufficient sanitary conveniences. If a building had a sufficient water supply then the owner was compelled to replace earth closets with water closets and was required to protect and maintain closets. The local authority was able to reject building plans if construction materials were deemed to be short lived or unsuitable for use in

permanent buildings. All houses were required to have a means of removing refuse and faecal matter. Courts, yards and passageways were to be paved and drained with entrances to courts to be open not closed, or narrowed, as to impede the free circulation of air. The local authority was responsible for the removal of house refuse by providing dustbins and for street cleansing with courts being swept by them and the costs recovered if the owner neglects this task. Upon a certificate from a Medical Examiner or Sanitary Inspector any premises used for human habitation in such a filthy condition as to be prejudicial to health could be cleansed, disinfected and whitewashed, and the same for inhabitants reported to be in a similar condition. It was the duty of the local authority to inspect for nuisances and act accordingly and new houses were to be provided with a sufficient water supply. Lodging houses continued to be registered and inspected with a fixed number of occupants, separation of the sexes, cleanliness and ventilation with white washing being required at regular intervals.

The mid-twentieth century experienced a flurry of legislation focussed on housing. The Landlord and Tenant (War Damage) (Amendment) Act 1941, an amendment to the earlier Landlord and Tenant (War Damage) Act 1939, recognised the obligation to reinstate, as soon as practically possible, the land in the form that had previously existed. The Water Act 1945 established a Water Committee to ensure the conservation, use and provision of water supplies. The New Towns Act 1946 established the powers of developers to designate new sites for use for new towns including housing, highways and public health. The Housing (Financial Provisions) (Scotland) Act 1946 set out the contributions required by local authorities to ensure housing for the working classes in Scotland. The Town Development Act 1952 was an act to encourage developers to provide relief for urban overcrowding by establishing new towns, a potential remedy for overcrowding. The Housing Repairs and Rents Act 1954 allowed for further provisions for clearance and redevelopment of unfit, for human habitation, housing. It gave additional powers to local authorities in respect of clearance areas and promoting the maintenance of housing and set out standards of fitness required for human habitation. The Housing Act 1957 was an act to consolidate the enactments relating to housing. It provided for the repair, maintenance and sanitary condition of houses to ensure they were repaired, free from damp, stable, naturally lit, ventilated, with a suitable supply of water, drainage and sanitary conveniences with facilities for the storage of food. The House Purchase and Housing Act 1959 authorised the Exchequer to deposit funds with

designated building societies to enable local authorities to make advances under the Small Dwellings Acquisition Acts 1899-1923, section forty-three of the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act 1958 and section seventy-five of the Housing (Scotland) Act 1950. It made provisions for grants to local authorities for the improvement of dwellings, loans for the purchase of houses and loans for amenities such as baths, showers, hot water supply and water closet. The Housing Act 1961 made further arrangements for giving financial assistance for the provision of housing and give local authorities additional powers regarding areas affected by clearance orders.

The Pubic Health Act 1961 amended the earlier Public Health Act 1936 relating to building by-laws. Local authorities no longer had the authority to make building by-laws. Fines were introduced for the improper construction or maintenance of water closets and soil pipes. It clarified powers relating to the demolition of ruinous and dilapidated buildings and prevented the construction of underground rooms, lower than subsoil water levels. New houses were required to have sufficient and suitable accommodation for food storage and existing houses were given notice by the local authority to improve food storage accommodation. All new houses must be provided with a bathroom containing either a fixed bath or shower plus hot and cold water.

Rodger (1995) considers the four hundred local improvement Acts on building regulations and sanitary control in 208 English and Welsh towns between 1800-1845 representative of the urgency of the housing problem but concludes that they achieved little. Much of the legislation relating to housing focusses on whose financial obligation it was to administer. As legislation developed concerns over poor quality housing increased and included issues beyond the public health issues of sanitation, drainage and water supply. Concerns such as overcrowding, the use of cellars as dwellings, street widths, ventilation, light levels and the combination of all these issues resulting in slum housing. Rodger (1995) comments that the adoption of legislation did not necessarily equate to enforcement.

Although housing and public health became addressed through separate legislation in the twentieth century they still appeared in the same years such as the Housing Act 1936 and the Public Health Act 1936 and again the 1961.

Philanthropy, social journalism and poverty surveys

Social journalism, popular from the mid-nineteenth century, saw journalists and activists entering into neighbourhoods of working class housing to report of the conditions. Poverty surveys followed in the late nineteenth century and aimed to survey and report primarily on the conditions of the working classes. Philanthropy towards the housing conditions of the working classes, similar to employer provided housing, aimed to provide housing for working class people. The Labourers' Friend Society was founded by Lord Shaftesbury in 1830 and intended to improve conditions for the working classes. In 1844 it changed its name to the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes and became a model dwellings organisation providing housing, designed by Architect Henry Roberts, in London for families, single women and single men (Tarn 1973). Roberts (1855) discusses the successes of the Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes society and describes their first construction example as having good drainage, excellent ventilation, an ample supply of water and improved moral habits of labouring classes. The Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes was founded in 1844 with the purpose of providing model homes in London. There was a particular focus on London for philanthropic trusts and organisations who provided housing for the working classes, also known as model dwellings. Geographical exceptions to this are the Pilrig Model Dwellings Company in Edinburgh, founded in 1849, the Newcastle upon Tyne Improved Industrial Dwellings Company founded in 1859, the Edinburgh Co-Operative Building Company founded in 1861, whose houses were known as colony houses, plus standalone schemes such as Friary Close in Portsmouth in 1851 and Rosebank Cottages in Edinburgh in 1854. The Artisans', Labourers and General Dwellings Company founded in 1867 was one of the largest of the model dwelling companies and constructed suburban estates in London. Later, in the nineteenth century organisations like the Workmen's National Housing Council and The National Housing Reform Council, a more conservative version of the Workmen's National Housing Council, were formed. However, for any meaningful changes to occur, the housing of the working classes needed to become a priority of those with a higher agenda than profit making.

St Martin's Cottages, Liverpool in 1869, the first example of local authority housing, represented utopian ideals for the comprehensive planning of new towns. Later company housing such as at Port Sunlight by Lever in 1888 and at New Earswick by

Rowntree in 1902, rather than earlier examples, accounted for the housing conditions and the workers housing experience. The start of the twentieth century saw the popularity of the garden city, a concept proposed by Ebenezer Howard, inspired by James Silk Buckingham's unrealised designs for the garden city Victoria, that urban developments could enjoy the health of the countryside. This period also saw World War One and the promise of homes fit for heroes however rising costs of building materials slowed construction programs. Wohl (1977) suggests that mounting discontent with housing conditions and rising left-wing opinion in the late Victorian period was responsible for producing the first specifically working class housing reform movement.

The philanthropic approach to housing aside, often these schemes resulted in the judgement of residents and an attempt to control their behaviour. For example, the pamphlet by Roberts (1855) mixed the physical issues of poor housing with the moral behaviour of inhabitants. He commented that a large proportion of crime and misery could be traced to the condition of the houses and that poor housing conditions were driving inhabitants to the public house or spirit shop. Henry Mayhew (1851), a former journalist, conducted a social investigation to provide an account of the earnings of working people in London. His research methods included using direct person accounts via face-to-face interviews however his approach wasn't systematic and focussed on marginal occupations and potentially presented an exaggerated view of poverty. However, Mayhew's research challenged the accepted viewpoint that the poor were responsible for their condition. Journalists and authors may have been guilty of peddling misinformation rather than highlighting the housing problems. For example, Arthur Morrison was accused of being fanciful and misrepresenting in his novels by newspapers such as the Spectator in March 1895 and the Edinburgh review in December 1896. Hare (1864) concluded that land occupied by dwellings for poorer classes was the least profitable and that every builder seeks to construct houses for respectable classes. This seems to have been a common opinion, but the inhabitants of such areas were criticised as displaying criminal behaviours, as disorganised, unemployed, and reckless with a lack of motivation to escape their poverty-stricken lives. In Liverpool, positions such as Medical Officer of Health, Manager of Artisans and Labourers dwellings and Director of Housing provided regular reports on the housing conditions during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although they are a valuable source with which to study housing conditions and perspectives on housing, they are as likely to accuse

residents of poor behaviour and blame them for their housing conditions. This prejudice, whether deserved or misinformed, is evident in the majority of contemporary sources. A survey of London poverty in 1885 enquired into those with a lack of church attendance and revealed poverty levels and wretched housing conditions. Charles Booth (1889, Steel 1997), a wealthy entrepreneur, investigated the nature of poverty in London, the conditions in which the poor lived and why, aiming to provide a structural rather than moral explanation. Much of the research was conducted by observation however his findings, published in 1889 with a second volume in 1891, were that poverty was a result of unemployment. Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree, discussed in more detail in chapter five, held the belief that healthy workers were efficient workers and set out to conduct surveys to ascertain the percentage of people in York who lived in poverty in 1901, 1936 and 1950. Rowntree conducted house visits and recorded the viewpoints of non-residents such as teachers, clergymen and voluntary workers. Rowntree concluded there were two types of poverty; primary and secondary. These surveys identified that low earnings, irregular employment, large families, sickness and old age were the root causes of poverty, not drunkenness and idleness. Few accounts were from the working man himself as the majority of those who offered an opinion were outsiders of the areas being studied. Their attitudes towards housing reform tainted by their middle class backgrounds, their expectations of comfort and decency, and experience of housing in the suburbs (Wohl 1977)

3.2.2 Working class housing: classifications

There are various types of working class housing that fall into two categories, physical form and thematic, and classifying the kinds of working class housing that existed is relevant because the housing experience differs depending on the type of house resided in. The following classifications are back-to-back and court housing, through terraces, cellar dwellings, lodging houses, tenements, by-law housing, employer provided housing, philanthropic housing and model villages, local authority provided housing and slum housing. Clearly some forms of housing with straddle several of the proposed classifications for example cellar dwellings were typically found in courts and back-to-back houses, and employer provided housing such as Robert Owen's New Lanark Mills was an early form of tenement housing.

Back-to-back and court housing

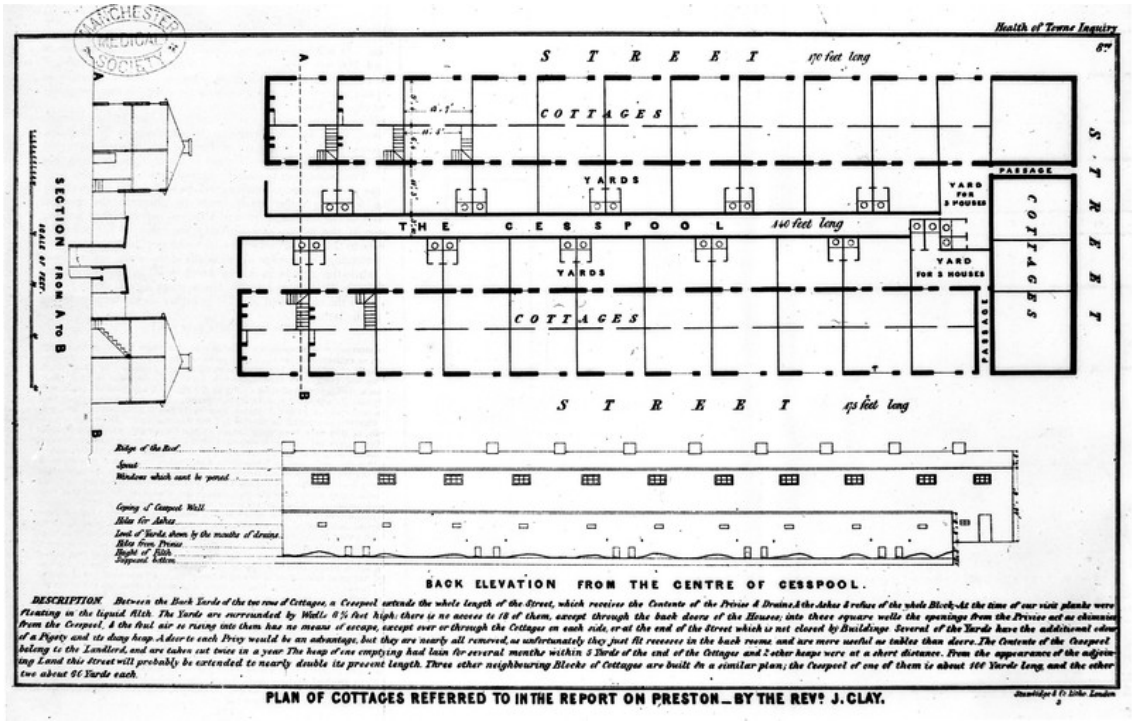

Figure 3.1: Plan of back-to-back houses in Preston, unknown date

Back-to-back houses, a form of terraced housing, spread along transport routes from the eighteenth century, particularly in the north of England. Constructed in a more regular layout than previous street alignments it was a housing type used to infill yards and town gardens. They were typically one-up-one-down, one room downstairs and one room upstairs, sometimes with an attic and or a cellar. They abutted the next house to the rear and so had no rear windows or exit. They typically had reduced ventilation due to having no rear access and limited outdoor space, and their common proximity to industrial workplaces.

The origins of back-to-back houses are unclear however they were an ideal form of housing for confined spaces with variations constructed to accommodate the existing landscape such as the steeply sloping hills of the north east of England (Burnett 1978) or the small courtyard settings of the north of England and the midlands.

Figure 3.2: Image showing back-to-back housing in Dundas Street, Hungate in York in 1933

They were a form of housing that was quick, easy and cheap to construct yet provided a family with their own front door and privacy. Beresford (1971) praises them as cheap and superior to earlier attempts at working class housing. Back-to-back houses were a form of working class housing that was universally constructed however unanimously condemned by sanitary reformers. They were an extremely popular form of housing in towns such as Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Bradford, Huddersfield and Halifax (Timmins 2013). In some places they were banned from being constructed such as in Liverpool in 1861 however they were still being constructed in Leeds in 1937.

Figure 3.3: Image of 3 Court, Chesterfield Street in Liverpool, unknown date

Back-to-back style housing was commonly associated with courts. Burnett (1978) comments that they are almost inseparable. Courtyard housing, or court housing, has an obscure origin however they are certainly a pre-industrial form of housing. The earliest they appear is in 1706 in Bermondsey however they did not develop into a prevalent type of housing in London. While not common, they did appear in the south of England on a much smaller scale (Alcock 2005). Court housing was often constructed to make use of existing plots of spare land such as in gardens, yards and alleys. Their original form was back-to-back in style with the rear of one court being built directly onto the rear of the next court, with both ends enclosed. Their form developed, with legislation prompting the changes, to have both ends opened up for access, ventilation and light. Court housing was a self-contained, inward facing version of back-to-back housing, but unlike back-to-back housing they had a shared courtyard and shared facilities with their neighbours. They were entered directly from the main street through an open or covered narrow passageway. There were some minor differences in the style of the houses that faced into the court and the street frontage houses which Burnett (1978) attributes to the mixing of tenants with different income levels not being acceptable.

The major shortcomings of back-to-back and court housing was the lack of ventilation due to built-up proximity, a rear wall in common, the temptation to build as many houses as possible onto a small piece of land to maximise profits. This resulted in shared spaces being small such as streets and passageways so that as much land as possible could be dedicated to housing. These houses were mostly constructed by speculative builders, small scale and motivated by profit these builders became known as Jerry Builders (Ashton 1954) who constructed inexpensive, temporary, inferior housing with a lack of durability and comfort.

Much of the housing in Hungate, York, discussed in chapter five, can be classified as back-to-back and court housing in Liverpool is investigated in chapter four.

Through terraces

Through terraces, or parlour houses, were also known as tunnel back houses. They had two ground floor rooms, two-up-two-down, with front and rear access providing light, ventilation, the option of private spaces within the dwelling and an option to segregate functions. Often this housing form represented an improvement on the traditional back-to-back standards due to the additional space, privacy and function, front and rear access for ventilation and light and an alley providing for the collection of refuse. The ground floor had front and rear access, a small private yard, an individual private privy, and the style developed in the second half of the nineteenth century to include a rear annex for a sink, boiler or coal house. They were sometimes called a parlour house as the second ground floor room was often used as a reception, parlour, room, which was not used as part of the household's daily life and activities. Lilley (2015) conducted research on this form of housing as it appeared in the employer provided model villages in the Derwent Valley and noted physical amenities in the houses designed to suit the workers who resided in them and Rodger (1995) notes that terraces developed in the late nineteenth century to include aesthetic additions such as stained glass, and decorative plaster, stuccoed brickwork and bay windows.

Cellar dwellings

Cellar dwellings comprised the cellar of a house, usually a back-to-back house or a court house, that was rented and lived in as a separate dwelling rather than as part of the house. The definition of a cellar as a dwelling changed in different periods as in some sources it was counted as a part of a house and in other as a separate dwelling.

Burnett (1978) comments that cellars represented the lowest form of accommodation and certainly there is contemporary evidence from social reformers to support this conclusion however the cellar dwelling had private, rather than shared, access and so was preferred by some residents. Much of the evidence for cellar dwellings dates to the period of sanitary enquiry into housing by early health reformers, the 1830's and 1840's, but cellar dwellings were not a new form of accommodation.

Figure 3.4: Image of a cellar at Duke's Terrace, Liverpool in 2018

Cellars were occupied as early as 1795 in Manchester and 1797 in Liverpool and there was a successful defence against attempts to outlaw them as residences in 1802 as it was argued that a separate entrance and their detachment from the main residence made them more sanitary (Hayton 1998; Taylor 1970). The Sanitary Act 1866 limited the use of cellars for human habitation and later acts prohibited cellars as dwellings.

Lodging houses

Lodging houses were what would now be called houses of multiple occupancy, residences where rooms were let temporarily to different residents. They were abundant in towns where large numbers of migrant and transient workers could be found such as Liverpool as they were intended to provide a temporary residence to workers. Dr James Kay's (1832) research uncovered good and poor examples of lodging houses and legislation continuously attempted to improve the conditions of lodging houses. The Common Lodging Houses Act, 1851 and 1853 required that they be registered and inspected by Police although the Act was rarely enforced. The transient nature of the residents makes lodging houses a difficult housing type to research the housing experience in any detail.

Tenements

Tenement houses were similar in style and intended function to lodging houses however were intended to provide a longer-term residence. Often tenement houses were simply existing houses subdivided to enable the maximum number of tenants. Burnett (1978) considered tenement houses to be the origin of the slum as they formed part of the process of town decay, using the dilapidated existing houses stock, originally intended for other class levels than the working class, to house the maximum number of people. Divided houses often had issues such as overcrowding, a lack of water supply, lack of privacy and shared facilities. Once prosperous areas were sub divided and became overcrowded-served demand, increased profit, earning the nickname 'rookeries'.

In Scotland tenements were a common, intentionally-constructed form of working class housing. They typically had four levels with between sixteen and twenty houses in each block with one or two rooms in each separate dwelling. Rodger (1995) attributes the popularity of this style as a result of higher building costs in Scotland, lower wages and an approach to only rent what working class families could afford during times of limited employment. Tenements allowed for no separation of function. They were often overcrowded, lacked adequate ventilation and light, had dangerous (unlit) stairs, no water supply, and the sanitary facilities were all on the ground floor and were limited and shared.

By-law housing

Between 1880-1914 by-law housing was constructed to meet minimum housing standards. They were a repetitive form of housing, terraces which opened onto the street with rear ginnels, alleys and yards that were walled providing privacy, plus a privy and a coal house. By-law housing also saw improved construction methods and materials. They were better insulated reducing the likelihood of damp and cold, had higher ceilings, larger windows which increased ventilation and light, timber replaced stone paving, they had an increased number of fireplaces, the addition of sinks and the introduction of iron cooking ranges. By the 1890's piped water was common in many towns. The increased number of rooms and size of the property meant that household activities could be separated, and privacy could be afforded.

Daunton (1983) suggests that the focus on by-law housing leading up to the First World War was a result of the Public Health Act of 1875 which was the turning point in the regulation of house building. The 1875 Public Health Act enabled sanitary authorities to make by-laws to control the standards and layout of working class housing. Burnett (1983) suggests that by-law housing was criticised, particularly by supporters of the Garden City movement, for the rigidity of the street layout, costly road construction and narrow houses however the by-law era was of limited duration.

Employer-provided housing

Employers who set up in remote locations faced the challenge of recruiting an able and reliable workforce and were required to provide housing for the workers.

Previous studies (Pollard 1964) have shown employers usually only provided the minimum standards. Ashworth (1951) agrees but suggests a more imaginative approach to housing as the nineteenth century wore on and Lilley's (2015) buildings-led approach identified housing features that suggested the mill owners were thoughtful in their approach to housing workers in the Derwent Valley. Detailed case studies of employer housing can be found by Ashmore (1966), Ball (1971), Crosby et al (2008) and Dewhurst (1989).

Employers faced the problem of attracting new labour to locations outside existing towns and so whole communities were constructed to provide accommodation and public amenities to workers. They varied in quality (Burnett 1978) but were generally of a higher standard than that provided by contemporary speculative builders. At best employers were philanthropic in their approach to providing housing for their workers and at worst they provided low quality housing and charged high rents. By the 1840's employer housing and community experiments were gaining momentum and popularity. Employer housing preceded what we now call model villages which include, for example, Arkwright at Cromford in 1771, Strutt at Belpher in 1776, Gregg at Styal in 1784, and later came Ashworth, Akroyd, Salt, Cadbury and Lever. Employer housing was sometimes on a smaller scale such as Lower English Buildings, Glasgow, discussed in chapter six. One of the best-known examples is Saltaire, criticised by Tarn (1971) as being a cheaper form of housing, acceptable for workers in a small community but unbearable in a larger scale town. Saltaire architects were Lockwood and Mason and the village was constructed between 1851-1876. It comprised twenty-two streets with 805 houses, forty-five alms houses with streets named after Salt family members, the royal family, members of domestic staff and architects.

Figure 3.5: Image of housing in Titus Street, Saltaire in 2014

A model village was a form of industrialist employer housing, self-contained and close to the place of employment. It usually provided a good quality standard of housing, when compared with private equivalent, and community facilities. They were fully developed villages rather than simply employer housing like Arkwright and Wedgewood provided. The model dwelling movement held the belief that a good home improved the occupant by giving them the incentive to better themselves. Tarn (1971) argues that the artisan benefitted from the model housing movement, a skilled worker with a family seeking to better themselves, rather than the working class in general. One example is Hartley's village which was established in 1886 as a model village in Aintree, Liverpool. Constructed by Sir William Hartley for workers of his jam factory the project was opened out to design competition and was won by W Sugden. Seventy-one terraced style cottages arranged around a central green were constructed. Each house had a front and rear private garden, the shared road was three feet wider than minimum regulations required and the village had five shops. Employer housing, in the form of model villages, developed further during the 1880's and 1890's with examples such as W H Lever's Port Sunlight and Cadbury's Bourneville. These sites represent a new vision of working class life with genuine and thoughtful attempts to offer an alternative to the over-crowded, dilapidated urban equivalent.

Figure 3.6: Image of Hartley's Village, Merseyside in 2018

Leverhulme, responsible for Port Sunlight in Merseyside in 1888, is said to have talked of days where workers would live in comfortable semi-detached houses with private gardens (Tarn 1971, 34 from 'Viscount Leverhulme by his son' 1927, 49). Leverhulme built what he believed to be the ideal community for his workers. He employed a number of architects to design a variety of housing types, each a good size with good sized and shaped rooms, three or four bedrooms, wide roads, large grassed common areas which were maintained by the company and a range of public amenities including a church, art gallery, hotel, school and community buildings. Port Sunlight had curing roads, open front gardens, were detached, semi-detached or in groups of four and six broken up by open spaces and frontages of eighteen. The houses offered were two types, one with an open plan living and kitchen room with three bedrooms and one with the addition of a parlour and a forth bedroom. Both types had a scullery, pantry and bathroom. 720 houses were constructed with rents below the commercial level and the firm operated as a prosperity sharing model where profits were shared with the workforce via good quality, healthy housing and facilities in return for the increased efficiency of workers. Port Sunlight refer to themselves in their marketing today as a garden village and as the finest and most complete example of early urban planning in the U.K. They have over 900 Grade II listed buildings designed by thirty different architects who were commissioned by Lever and influenced by the garden city

movement. Continuing into the early twentieth century is the example of New Earswick, York in 1903 by the Rowntree family. The houses had a utility room, and many had an upstairs bathroom. The site was designed based upon a belief that an organic layout based on the needs of residents with living rooms facing the sun.

The difference between an employer's model village and a garden city was that a garden city did not attempt to control the lives of residents and housing was not tied to employment status. A good example of this is Bourneville by George Cadbury, which wasn't anticipated to be a company town as it was devised as an ideal alternative community (Burnett 1978). Constructed in 1893 into the natural contours of the landscape, with houses of a variety of styles, semi and small blocks of tunnel backs with rear gardens. Each house typically had a parlour, a living room, a kitchen and three bedrooms. Uniquely not all the inhabitants of Bourneville were employed by Cadbury.

Philanthropic housing

Two voluntary bodies concerned with housing reform were in existence by 1850, the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes and the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes. Both had demonstrated that sanitary housing in the form of model buildings could be constructed in urban areas, but the problem lay in encouraging investors to build in quantity. Between 1844 and 1851 the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes constructed or remodelled six model buildings in London which gave a moderate annual return on their investments. The Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes, also based in London, constructed two model buildings in London between 1848 and 1853. Roberts (1855) wrote that the experience of both societies proved a desire for working classes to have improved dwellings and a willingness to keep them in good condition, to pay the rents on time and to conform to regulations intended for their benefit. He further comments that the inhabitants had become sober, the disorderly well-conducted with no charges of crime or complaints of disturbance. It appears that Roberts feared that moderate profits alone would not market the model building example but that concerns over the inhabitant's moral pestilence needed to be addressed. Roberts (1855) concludes that poor dwellings had a degrading influence on inhabitants. Sutcliffe (1972) suggests that these model dwelling projects achieved

little and Pevsner (1943) criticised their design. Certainly, these philanthropic examples were not on a large enough scale to make an impact and tended to concentrate on the perceived failings and moral behaviour of the residents rather than on the wider issues.

Model dwellings were based on the 'five per cent philanthropy' approach where housing was provided with philanthropic intentions for a limited financial return (Wohl 1977). These were a forerunner to council and social housing. The largest was the Artisans', Labourers' and General Dwellings Company who were both a building society and housing association founded in 1867. Between 1885-1892 they built 1465 block dwellings and three workmen's villages in the suburbs of London. The Improved Dwellings Company aimed to facilitate levelling-up by providing 30,000 dwellings for the upper working class therefore freeing up lower quality and more affordable housing for lower class residents. The Peabody Trust is one of the better-known providers of model housing in London. In 1862 Peabody, a businessman, donated £150,000 for the relief of poverty in London. The money was used to set up a trust to erect block dwellings although the rules to live within this housing were strict and included that residents must be vaccinated, rents must be paid in advance, communal areas must be cleaned by residents, children were not allowed to play in communal areas, no dogs and residents were not allowed to hang anything on internal walls. Another well-known example is Octavia Hill who advocated the self-help approach to the working class and provided model dwellings on a much smaller scale. Hill thought that social problems could only be solved by improving the character of the poor and by gradually improving the existing housing stock and their residents would be more successful than demolition and displacement. Wohl (1977) praises Hill as being the only model housing provider to actually reach the irregularly employed poor dealing with houses and the people who inhabited them. Roger (1995) argues that philanthropic efforts demonstrated that sufficient profit was feasible from working class housing and by encouraging tenants to adopt decent living habits.

Local authority housing

Municipal and social housing, aimed at alleviating slum conditions by providing new accommodation for those displaced, typically requested rents that were too high for those they aimed to help. Glasgow and Liverpool (Dwyer 2014) were the first to offer

this type of housing on more than a minor scale. The types of housing offered varied in style.

Many of the urban slums were demolished by 1960's and had been replaced by a variety of alternative housing including block housing, similar in style to tenements, and newly established towns in the suburbs. Often the solutions to the housing problem were temporary. For example, in Liverpool slum housing (court housing) in Dingle was demolished and the inhabitants moved into tenement block housing constructed in the 1930's. One of the blocks, Caryl Gardens, was demolished in the 1980's and the residents again found themselves displaced. In Everton, a fifteen-story block known as The Piggeries was subject to a lawsuit after tenants refused to pay Liverpool City Council rent on the grounds that the seventy, two-storey houses within the block were not fit for human habitation. Constructed in 1966 within two years the conditions had deteriorated to that of the former slums they had replaced. Issues raised by tenants included blocked and overflowing toilets, failed water supply, vandalised common areas, broken lifts, no lighting on the common stairwells, blocked rubbish chutes, flooding and damp. The Piggeries were demolished in 1988.

Government intervention did not mean the private market was no longer capable of providing accommodation for the working classes (Daunton 1983) although the local authority was the guarantor of both quality and quantity in the housing market. By 1900 housing had become an area of interest for architects which impacted the design and appearance of newly built housing. Tarn (1971) suggests there were concerns that an increase in state provided housing would result in less capital being spent in the private sector, but this would work out to be an unfounded fear. An alternative view was that housing problems were rooted in the structure of society and so were the responsibility of society and so housing was the responsibility of the local authority.

Slums

There were good and bad examples of each form of housing available to the working classes however, much of the urban housing stock was in a state of disrepair and so became known as slum housing. Slum areas were designated as such by their overcrowding, dirty conditions, squalor, crime and were found in all

large towns. Although the term slum was applied to houses and geographically designated areas it also referred to the residents. The origin of the term slum has been investigated by Dyos (1967) who notes that it appeared in general usage in 1840's and Rodger (1995) concurs that from the 1840's slum was in common usage. Gauldie (1974) and Gaskell (1990) note that the term slum doesn't have a precise definition. Gaskell (1990) states that the characteristics implied in the term 'slum' were not a unique feature of nineteenth century urban life but can be identified in eighteenth century rural life. To Gaskell (1990) a slum is an area with dwellings without sanitation, with faulty drainage, broken buildings, with dampness, infestation, overcrowding with a lack of facilities. The basis on which a dwelling is unfit for human habitation differs from source to source with some characteristics occurring time and again. For Gauldie (1974) a decent dwelling meant watertight and able to be cleaned and Gaskell (1990) notes that the slum issue was the housing problem.

In the late nineteenth century housing acts used slums as a point of reference to debate and agree upon a programme of demolition and replacement. Gaskell (1990) argues that much of the evidence surrounding nineteenth century slums are tinged with xenophobia as a result of these areas being inhabited by migrants, particularly Irish and Jewish people. There was a frequent turnover of inhabitants due to poverty as a result of unstable employment and rental prices. The frequent turnover of inhabitants impacts on how a community can be studied as the community was in a permanent state of fluidity. The popularity of statistical surveys, particularly Booth (1889) showed variations in the people who lived in slum areas. Their skills, race, religion and wages all varied.

For housing to be affordable to those with a low income it was usually small, substandard and unhealthy. The solution to this problem was affordable, good quality accommodation however no speculative builder would build for this category of resident due to the low return on their investment. State built housing, council housing, was a result of this need. In the Housing Act 1919 subsidies were provided to local authorities and private builders to construct housing for those with low incomes. In 1930 a slum clearance subsidy was offered to local authorities to encourage them to demolish slum areas and provide housing for those displaced. In 1933 local authorities were requested to prepare five-year plans to demolish slums.

By 1967, 900,000 ‘slum’ houses in Britain had been demolished with approximately 2.5 million people rehomed (Rees 2001). World War Two resulted in heavy bombing to major urban locations damaging the housing stock. One solution to this was constructing temporary prefabricated, prefab, housing. The New Towns Act 1946 laid out legislation to rebuild housing and relocate people outside of town centres. Slum clearances also occurred elsewhere in the same period. In the United States slum clearances took place in urban centres for renewal however Davis (1995) informs us that of the demolished houses only a third of the stock was replaced and only half of these were affordable for social tenants.

Because novelists, social investigators, journalists and the housing reform movement were bringing public attention to slum housing those in authority needed to explain their continued existence. They blamed the existence of slums on the inhabitants and their lack of moral qualities. Gaskell (1990) suggests that the presentation of slum life to the public gave it an exotic and mysterious character, other worldly, to outsiders. A slum was both a physical, geographically designated space, an abyss, and a primitive, dangerous space inhabited by those with few morals. This is suggestive of class fear and fear of the unknown. To suggest slum dwellers were less than the deserving poor, that the physical attributes of a slum were a result of the failings of its inhabitants, allowed those in authority to explain away the ongoing existence of these problem areas. By the twentieth century the slum was a high-profile threat to a country proposing a land fit for heroes.

It is important to note that modern understandings of the slum housing of this period is through the accounts, and eyes, of middle-class outsiders. There are only a handful of twentieth century accounts of slum life (London 1903, O’Mara 1933; Roberts 1971), from insiders and accounts from the nineteenth century are all from visitors or published as novels. Slum visitors provide a generalised account of housing and failed to identify the uniqueness of individual communities. Their accounts share examples of misery, dirty habits and poor behaviour and not of resourcefulness and character.

Many of the housing forms discussed, except for employer provided housing and model villages, particularly the earlier converted buildings and those privately erected in urban centres, declined over time into slum housing. It is important to

note that the description ‘slum’ referred to the physical dwelling, the wider neighbourhood and inhabitants and so it is tricky to unpick and identify purely slum housing.

3.2.3 The housing problem

Housing has been used as evidence to support a pessimistic view of the standard of living of the historic working class. The housing problem was a lack of healthy housing for those with a low or sporadic income and the lack of available housing in the quantities required was a result of the rapid population growth and rural migration in the first half of the nineteenth century. Daunton (1990) writes that it is easier to describe the differences in the various forms of housing than to provide an explanation for why, although he does suggest that regional building styles influenced the various forms. Social influences, an increased tendency towards separating public and private spaces, and how housing was experienced by residents can also explain the differences in forms. The degree of privatised space was less than might be assumed argues Daunton (1990). This was due to houses not having their own water supply or sanitation facilities and due to the high degree of sharing of property. Housing issues were concentrated in towns which had experienced the first impact of industrialisation such as Manchester, London and Liverpool. Slum housing was not a new problem nor confined to the nineteenth century however social trends raised the expectations for housing and housing problems became less acceptable as the connection to poor health was realised. Much of the housing available for the working class was in built up areas, close to industry or other sources of employment, densely packed, dirty, noisy with no green space. Tarn (1971) concludes that throughout the country speculative builders were aware of profitability but were not concerned with the issues of the working classes. Overcrowding was accidental, a result of high numbers requiring housing in urban areas close to places that could offer employment and speculative builders working to maximise profits by increasing the number of units on plots.

Tarn (1971) comments that no one appears to have considered that an architect may have been able to suggest improvements and economies in the design of dwellings and Burnett (1978) suggests that architects were not involved in the design of working class housing because rents did not warrant their involvement.

There are exceptions to this such as the architect Henry M Eyton who, in Hull in 1862, designed a complete court to house thirty-two families. However, architects were involved in model dwellings schemes such as Henry Roberts, the architect for Shaftesbury's Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes and again for the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings on the Industrious Classes and Henry Astley Darbishire for the Peabody Trust

Themes that prevented the improvement of working class housing

With housing it is difficult to establish what was normal and what was exceptional. It may be easy to confuse the worst and best examples with what was average or more realistic. Some contemporary observers such as Engels (1845) reported on the average which was unusual. There are various opinions why the housing crisis was not addressed earlier or in a timelier fashion. Gauldie (1974) considers the delay in housing reform was a result of a lack of imagination by those setting the legislation and Daunton (1990) suggests that we need to understand tensions between landlord and tenant and between rates and rents as causes of a housing crisis. There are several possible reasons for why the housing crisis was not overcome, attitudes towards the working class, piecemeal implementation of legislation, lack of understanding of causes of substandard housing and lack of alternative, preoccupation with public health rather than housing as a standalone issue as the housing experience was not a priority as health was the focus, opposition to developments, and poverty or more accurately the affordability of good quality housing as even those displaced could struggle to afford better quality state provided housing.

Attitudes towards the working class

The prejudices of parliamentary commissioners, legislators, officers, journalists and so on determined the questions they asked and the approaches they took during their investigations. Attitudes towards the working class in general were that they caused their own poverty, often through drunkenness, idleness and crime, that lifestyle choices were to blame. Concerns that help from the government would encourage a lack of motivation in the poor, that they would be unwilling to help themselves. The results of investigative journalism, surveys and the arts challenged this widely-held belief. The need for public expenditure on public health and housing resulted in alternative explanations prevailing (Wohl 1977). If character deficiencies

were responsible for slums so moral regeneration was a solution to the housing problem. These opinions seem to have been especially prevalent in the late nineteenth century. Octavia Hill in 1875 suggested that houses were bad because they were poorly built and poorly arranged however argued that moving inhabitants to health houses would be counter-productive because they would pollute and destroy them (Rubenstein 1974, account 107). Gaskell (1883) suggested the working class had an extinction of decent pride which was a view generally accepted and long held. Lord Shaftesbury, also in 1883, regarded state aid as a mischief and that providing houses to the labouring classes at nominal rents would destroy moral energies (Rubenstein, 1974, account 84).

The Poor Law was designed to deter, primarily due to the dominant attitude that those experiencing poverty were to blame for their condition and that their lifestyle choices were to blame. The concern was that the Poor Law would encourage a lack of motivation in the working class. Those in authority tried to justify their reluctance to act against slum conditions by blaming the character of inhabitants rather than the conditions themselves.

Piecemeal implementation of legislation

The proposals of many Acts and legislation were not compulsory to action, preventing them from accomplishing what they set out to achieve which delayed progress as they were not enforced. Until legislation was implemented in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, builders had the freedom to construct dwellings of poor quality, close to noxious industries or ill drained rivers and landlords could ignore outstanding repairs or conditions injurious to health without consequence. Many of the issues with the delay in dealing with insanitary housing conditions is a direct result of legislation not being compulsory, for example the 1847 Towns Improvement Clauses Act defined the rights that towns had to tackle issues such as drainage, water supply and nuisances however it was down to the local authority to implement them. The literature agrees for example Rodger (1995) blames lax drafting, unenforceable legislation, ineffectual monitoring, limitations, the exclusion of existing housing, Rubenstein (1974) comments that building laws and by-laws were inadequate and frequently flouted and Tarn (1971) suggests the housing movement was never able to formulate a coherent policy or produce a sufficient quantity of housing to really contribute.

Rees (2001) considers it was the lack of services to the house, rather than the house itself, that was to blame for many of the sanitation issues. The houses lacked drainage and a water supply and had outdoor privies that emptied into cesspits that needed to be emptied by hand. Fresh water was expensive and available from a standpipe. It was this lack of sanitation and clean water supply that resulted in many of the public health outbreaks during the nineteenth century, typhus epidemics in 1837, 1839, 1847 and cholera in 1831, 1848, 1853 and 1866. Prior to 1848 there was a lack of compulsory legislation, with local acts obtained independently and piecemeal, primarily due to a lack of understanding about the nature of disease and how it spread. A Board of Health was established following an outbreak of cholera in 1831. Their advice to local authorities was to set up a local Board of Health and to embark upon measures such as whitewashing and liming houses and fumigating furnishings. This indicates that the relationship between health, sanitation and housing was recognised and understood although it would be some time until they were compulsorily addressed.

Misunderstanding of causes of sub-standard housing

There was a lack of understanding of causes of substandard housing and lack of alternative to house the working class. Issues included that the quality of construction varied, neglect of repairs and the frequent change of occupiers. Those in a position of influence did not see the situation first hand so there was a continued lack of understanding and so they were slow to act.

Housing and public health

The preoccupation with public health rather than housing as a standalone issue, and not a priority, as health was the focus and so housing, a major contributing factor to poor health, was not addressed directly. Accounts on housing in the first half of the nineteenth century focussed on public health including the distribution of death and disease, life expectancy, the correlation between morality, disease and housing and insanitary conditions (Rodger 1995).

Edwin Chadwick (1842), whilst working with the Poor Law, identified sanitary concerns as the primary issue with housing following his research into sanitation

which began in 1839. The deficient ventilation, damp floors, cold, inconvenience of disposing of refuse were all breeding grounds for disease, he concluded. He was concerned with identifying and investigating the disease which resulted from the rapid growth of towns, however his interest in housing was only as it related to public health. Prominent campaigners in the development of public health include Dr James Kay, a Manchester based Physician who researched the moral and physical conditions of working class in Manchester in 1832 and Chadwick, a Lawyer and Journalist who served as a Poor Law Commissioner in 1832 and then as a Commissioner on the Board of Health from 1848-1854. Much of Chadwick's research informed the Public Health Act 1848. The physical conditions of the houses were frequently integrated with the moral behaviour of inhabitants confusing the real issue of substandard housing, unhealthy living conditions and poverty. A number of Chadwick's investigations focussed on some of the poorest areas of London and the resulting reports concluded that healthy conditions could not be established under existing circumstances, that the personal habits of inhabitants were the least contributing factors to poor health and that overcrowding, poor ventilation, a lack of water supply and ineffective waste collection were to blame. Chadwick linked these conditions with public health epidemics and as a result the Home Secretary set up a Royal Commission to further investigate the health of towns and the financial implications of proposals. The first *Report of the Royal Commission into the Sanitary Condition of Large Towns and Populous Districts* was published in 1844 with a second published in 1845. The reports made suggestions that the government should inspect sanitary works, that local authorities should establish local Sanitary boards with the authority over drainage, sewerage, paving and water supply with the powers to raise funds for works via local rates. Chadwick continued to try and raise public awareness of these issues by the Health of Town Association.

Concerns over public health led many investigative journalists, legislators and social scientists to investigate housing conditions as an incidental aspect of poverty, the primary research agenda. This viewpoint, that of an outsider to the community, resulted in the physical conditions of the housing and the moral behaviour of the inhabitants being recorded and shared. Henry Mayhew (1851) divided the labouring poor into three categories; those who will work, those who cannot work and those who will not work. William Booth (1890), of The Salvation Army, defined poverty as three circles; those in the centre lived life provided for by crime, next by those who lived a life of vice and the outer circle those who were poor but honest. By the end of

the nineteenth century a more scientific approach to poverty studies was applied for example Charles Booth (1889) and Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree (1901).

Opposition to improvements

Opposition to developments included the financial implications of schemes, the government encroaching on individual liberties, vested interests, civil engineering problems and a dislike of campaigners. For example, Chadwick was not popular for his bullying tactics. Convincing statistics showed the link between morality, sanitation and housing yet were met with laissel-faire thinking with builders having vested interests in the continuation of circumstances with no improvements or changes.

Poverty

The affordability of good quality housing was a problem as even those displaced could struggle to afford the better-quality state provided housing. Accommodation needed to be close to the area in which people could find work or be available on a flexible basis to suit casual work. Burnett (1978) considers housing to be a poverty issue as those experiencing poverty could not afford economic rents, to provide for the poor was not financially beneficial and it wasn't considered to be a public responsibility. No builder would provide for the poor, unemployed or casual worker. Poverty in the nineteenth century, and indeed into the twentieth century, was the primary cause of unhealthy, substandard housing.

There were attempts to solve the housing problem with the introduction of minimum building standards for newly built housing and the controlled and systematic demolition of slum housing. In the short term this exacerbated the problem by reducing the amount of affordable housing available to the working class. In the long term, reformers and legislation in the late nineteenth century were still trying to achieve what reformers of the 1840's had reported on, issues with the quality of housing, low housing stock, rising house prices. During the twentieth century standards improved with the rise of the welfare state. Although the modern version of a decent house is far removed, and improved, from its nineteenth century equivalent we are still on the spectrum of housing reform worldwide and even localised to the UK. Housing reform remains in a state of development with a lack of

housing, sub-standard housing, houses of multiple occupancy, dilapidated social housing and high private rents, issues that remain into the twenty-first century.

Based on the history of housing the elements of the housing experience selected to be used to review the combined approach are the quality of the construction, the building materials, the layout, the amenities in the house, the size of the property, overcrowding, sanitation and the wider neighbourhood including a sense of community. The three forms of housing investigated in the case studies are court housing in Liverpool, back-to-back housing in Hungate, York and small-scale employer provided housing in Glasgow.

Chapter 4: Court housing in Liverpool 1790-1970

4.1 Introduction

The large-scale import and export industry, and Liverpool's status as a port city, is largely responsible for the population increase and the resulting need for low cost housing from the late eighteenth century. Liverpool's history has been thoroughly investigated by researchers such as Balderstone et al (2014), Belcham (2006), Greaney (2013), Morris and Ashton (2007) and Pooley and Irish (1994) with a focus on Liverpool's position as a port city, its landscape developments and public health. Liverpool was a pioneer of public health and housing reforms. It was home to the first public baths and wash-houses, founded in 1842 by Kitty Wilkinson, the first Medical Officer of Health in 1847 and local acts that were the forerunners of national legislation, for example the 1846 Liverpool Sanitary Act.

Much of what we know of the housing experience in Liverpool comes from nineteenth century documentary material when there was a focus on public health and later, housing specific issues. Liverpool courtyard housing, or court housing, was the local form of low quality, high density housing and was home to half of the working class in the city during the nineteenth century. Nineteenth century investigations into housing and health focused in on court dwellings as playing host to conditions that could assist in the spread of disease. Court housing was a form of back-to-back housing behind the frontage houses, or shops, of the main street. The typically rectangular courtyard was entered through a narrow passageway from the main street. The houses inside the court faced one another across a shared courtyard which housed shared facilities such as a toilet, standpipe and ashbin. They varied in size from two houses to twenty and were two or three storeys high often with a cellar and a garret (attic). The houses were back-to-back with the next court and so did not have a rear exit or yard.

Court housing was once prevalent throughout Liverpool, however, a widespread clearance programme in the twentieth century has left only three court houses still extant. An oral history project, *Our Humble Abodes,* conducted in 2013, provided the unique opportunity to challenge the mainstream narrative of court housing in

Liverpool by introducing a previously under-acknowledged source, the memories of former residents. The oral histories contributed to our understanding of this form of working class housing, within living memory and yet under-explored. An archaeological excavation was carried out in July 2018 by the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) supported project *Galkoff's and the Secret Life of Pembroke Place* (GATSLPP), a collaborative project between the Museum of Liverpool and the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine (LSTM). Sadly, this took place beyond the deadline for the completion of this thesis although the GATSLPP project kindly allowed the author to conduct a visual inspection of the extant court house owned by LTSM.

Court housing has faded from social memory and now taken on a mythical Dickens-like existence in the Liverpool consciousness. The generally-held impression of the housing experience in court housing is not necessarily incorrect or untrue but it is limiting and so the opportunity to carry out oral history interviews with former residents has led to alternative memories of court housing emerging.

Street Name	**Oral History**	**Archaeology**	**Built heritage**	**Documentary**
Court housing	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Table 4.1: Table of available evidence for court housing in Liverpool

4.2.1 History of housing in Liverpool

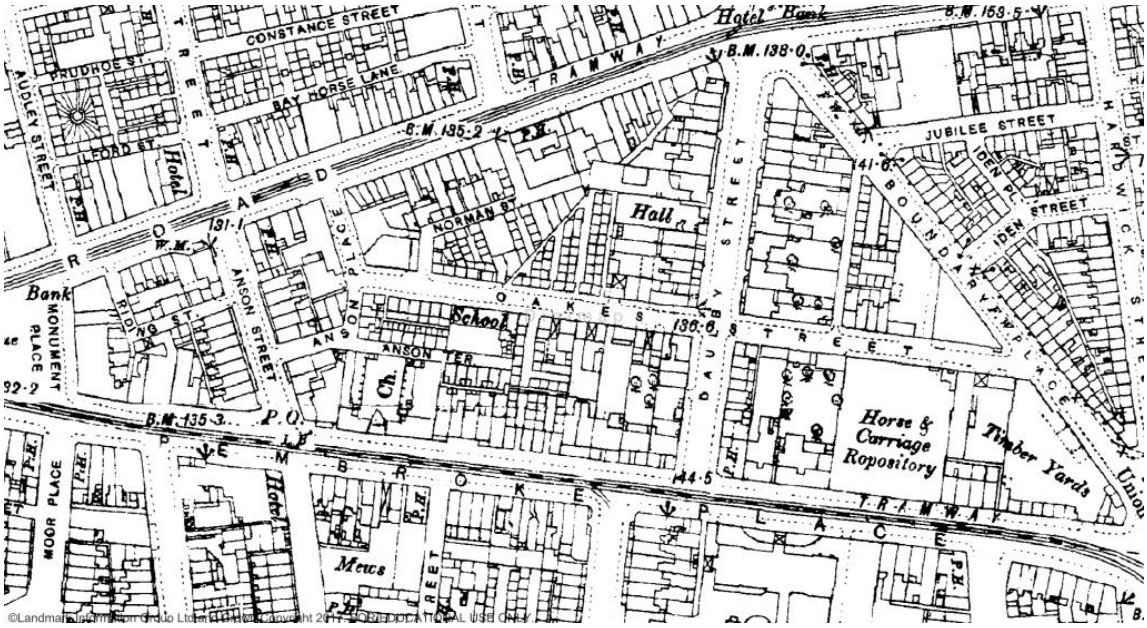

Figure 4.1: Map showing Pembroke Place and surrounding area in the 1890's

As with other large urban towns and cities Liverpool suffered with a crisis of housing, health and overcrowding and, consequently, attracted the attention of medical observers, public health reformers, middle class social commentators and town planners. Housing in Liverpool has been assessed from as early as 1789. From 1789-1790 Makin Simmons, in his role as Overseer of the Poor, conducted a survey of Liverpool's population and housing which recorded of different housing types including front houses, back houses (courts) and cellars. In 1794 an account of the history of Liverpool (Wallace 1794) identifies an issue with the lack of water supply to houses suggesting housing issues were being identified from an early date.

By the 1840's insanitary housing in England was gaining public attention encouraged by reformers. In Liverpool, officials, health professionals and commentators were identifying the abundance of court and cellar dwellings in the city as hazardous to health. In 1841 the Health of Towns Select Committee investigated health related issues in urban areas and concluded that building acts were not universal or standard across towns and so proposed the Buildings Regulations Bill, the Borough Improvements Bill and the Drainage of Towns Bill. The Building Regulation Bill attempted to make all court housing open to the street, to

set maximum lengths and widths for courts and to ensure privies were compulsory. The bill failed to pass due to concerns over other elements which may have resulted in overcrowding following the closure of cellar dwellings. However, campaigners continued to pressure for reform. In 1842 Liverpool improved its Buildings Act; structural (non-combustible materials, chimney heights, size of timbers), sanitation (ventilation, size of rooms, restriction and use of cellars, provision for cleaning drains, cesspits and privies) and the Health of Towns and Building Act 1842 prohibited courts that were inadequately lit. A by-law in 1842 prevented cellars from being separately occupied which, in theory, reduced the potential for overcrowding and families living in locations not intended for occupation, though probably without eliminating overcrowding.

In 1845 the first Health of Towns Association meeting took place. The Association was made up of clergymen, politicians and medical men and aimed to supply information to be the basis for future public health legislation. One consequence of the Association was the Liverpool Sanitary Act 1846, which led to the Public Health Act 1848. The Liverpool Sanitary Act led to the appointment of three pioneering posts; the Medical Officer of Health, William Henry Duncan, Borough Surveyor and Engineer, James Newlands, and Inspector of Nuisances, Thomas Fresh. Newlands was responsible for designing and installing the sewerage system and in 1843 Duncan had produced *On the Physical Causes of the High Rate of Mortality in Liverpool* (Duncan 1843). Duncan was initially appointed on a part time basis, and in 1847 "*Punch"* poked fun at the low wage offered for such an important position. (Morris and Ashton 2007).

Housing was included within public health legislation for much of the nineteenth century (Kearns et al 1993; Morris and Ashton 2007; Pooley 2006). In Liverpool, from the nineteenth to twentieth centuries, local government officials such as the Medical Officer of Health, Manager of Artisans and Labourers dwellings and Director of Housing provided regular reports on the housing conditions. Although they are a valuable source with which to research housing conditions and perspectives on housing, they are as likely to accuse residents of poor behaviour and blame them for their housing conditions. This judgement, whether deserved or misinformed by prejudice, is evident in the majority of contemporary sources. At a local level Medical Officers of Health were key figures in the development of housing policy and in

identifying areas of low quality, slum-like, housing (Pooley and Irish 1994). Medical observers concluded that poor housing, specifically airless and dirty living conditions, resulted in a high mortality rate. Court housing and cellar dwellings were identified in public health pamphlets as types of housing that provided an airless and dirty existence to residence. They commented these property types lacked proper sanitation and drainage, lacked a water supply, lacked adequate ventilation, were poorly constructed and of cheap materials and the yards and streets surrounding these properties were not cleaned. James Newlands, in his 1848 report to the Health Committee, commented "Dense masses crowded in small space generate miasms hungry for life, which grow with what they feed upon…..thus it seems that space, light and ventilation are essentials of health." (Newlands 1848, 106). In 1863 Dr Trench, Liverpool's second Medical Officer of Health commented in his Report of the Medical Officer for Health that disease was a result of "The number of poor….collected in certain squalid localities; filth and penury pent up in airless dwellings, frequent changes of residence,….crowding together of many families in single houses,….the preponderance of narrow ill-ventilated courts and alleys, the construction and position of middens and cesspools." (Trench 1863, 7).

Campaigning by Edwin Chadwick in the late 1830's and early 1840's and the 1848 cholera epidemic led to the implementation of the Health of Towns Act, enforcing legislation that had previously been non-compulsory. Chadwick argued that the cost of improvements to sewers, water supply, street paving and street cleaning would be offset by the reduction in treating the sick. Chadwick's ideas went beyond basic structural requirements and looked at damp proofing, double glazing and gas appliances (Stewart 2019).

The 1854 Sanitary Amendment Act allowed Liverpool Corporation to replace privies and cesspits with water closets and from 1860 Liverpool Corporation were able to prevent the construction of housing that offered privies rather than water closets and the conversion of privies to water closets began soon after. In 1862 the Liverpool Corporation took on the responsibility of cleaning surfaces in the courts to reduce the mess left by night men who emptied cesspits and middens. The 1863 Report for the Medical Officer of Health written by Dr Trench (in Taylor 1970, 7) provides a sharp description of court housing that reflects the opinion of the Office of Health and how it judged the nature of court housing to be responsible for disease. The

“Number of poor….promiscuously collected in certain squalid localities, filthy and penury pent up in airless dwellings, frequent changes in residence, scattering and resewing thereby the seeds of infectious diseases, the crowding together of many families in single houses, the restricted superficial area of streets and blocks of buildings, the preponderance of narrow ill-ventilated courts and alleys, the construction and position of middens and cesspools.” Much of the legislation regarding public health and housing was implemented gradually and some only applied to new builds such as the Public Health Act 1875. The 1889 Liverpool Act made it illegal to construct closed courts and included legislation which prevented the worst forms of housing from being constructed therefore created a higher standard of living for court residents including maximum number of houses per court. The 1890 Housing Act contained three sections under which local authorities were able to finance slum clearance programmes although it didn’t significantly develop the powers available prior to the act and Liverpool continued to use its local Sanitary Amendment Act 1864. Pooley (1985) suggests this is because it was the administratively easier and financially cheaper option.

An enthusiastic and thorough programme of slum clearance occurred in Liverpool during the early to mid-twentieth century with its origins in the late nineteenth century with the 1875 Artisans Dwelling Act enabling local authorities to demolish slum housing, the 1890 Housing of the Working Classes Act giving local authorities the power to close insanitary dwellings and the 1930 Slum Clearance Act encouraging the demolition of court housing. New tenements and later new build villages in suburbs were constructed to house the displaced. Early Liverpool Corporation housing was in response to the understanding that insanitary housing was responsible for health issues in the city. However, providing new homes for the displaced was also a means of controlling and improving their morals and behaviour as residents were required to follow Corporation rules and a certain level of conduct was expected. Typically, those displaced from the worst housing were unable to afford the Liverpool Corporation rents and found alternative accommodation resulting in overcrowding issues elsewhere. Although the new tenements were intended to house the poorest poor (Pooley 1985), those they were constructed for could not afford the rents. Sir Lancelot Keay, Director of Housing, was reluctant to allow former court residents to reside in the newly constructed dwellings. He suggested a stop gap alternative, special preparatory tenements, to enable tenants

to learn how to live in decent housing before moving into permanent accommodation.

Initially city centre tenement style or landings were constructed to provide accommodation for those displaced. Buildings such as the Four Squares at Everton Brow and Caryl Gardens in Dingle were constructed close to courts that were condemned or identified as being suitable for demolition. Later, new villages were constructed outside the city centre to provide accommodation for those displaced by the slum clearance programmes. Many residents of court dwellings in Liverpool were moved into new build villages constructed outside of Liverpool city centre, such as Kirkby and Norris Green, following forced eviction and demolition of inner city slum housing.

4.2.2 Court housing in Liverpool

"In courts where the sun never penetrates, in alleys where pure air is unknown."

(Shimmin 1864, 36)

Most of what we know about court housing comes from nineteenth century accounts, reports and legislation in response to poor quality housing and outbreaks of disease, as described above. Little is known about the housing experience for twentieth century court residents as the focus on housing reduced.

Figure 4.2: Image of one of the Saltney Street courts in 1906

Although initially constructed as back houses from the mid-eighteenth century they became more formalised in their design towards the end of the eighteenth century. The construction of court housing was prolific in Liverpool between during the early to mid-eighteenth century in response to the rapid growth of the port city. Taylor (1970) concludes the rapid increase in court housing in Liverpool from the early eighteenth century was due to the lack of available building land within the Liverpool old town boundaries, the increasing need for cheap working class housing and the willingness of builders and landlords to build for this market (Taylor 1970).

In 1802 Dr Currie of the Liverpool Dispensary, suggested that courts be built a certain width, no more than two-storeys high, that the ends of the court be built open and each court should have two or three privies and a supply of water to increase the healthiness of court dwellings. These suggestions were not included in the proposed improvement Bill of 1802, which was later withdrawn due to local opposition (Taylor 1970). An 1803 improvement Bill introduced regulations for building court housing and stated that no court was to be built less that eighteen feet

across, nine feet wide at the entrance and no more than thirty feet in height. The changes were opposed by the owners of the houses.

Forster, giving a description of court housing in Hull, provides a succinct description of a court "…two parallel facing rows of houses with a wide pathway between them, laid out at right-angles to a thoroughfare street, for a self-contained unit of between 12 and 22 houses." (1972). Shimmin provides a detailed description of early court housing in Liverpool "…court houses are frequently four stories high, 'straight up and down', and contain four apartments-a cellar, a living room, and two bedrooms,…at the top of the court stands the open cesspool and privy." (in Walton and Wilcox 1991).

The term back house was used to describe the dwellings behind the street frontage unit which were arranged around a small piece of open space. These back houses later became known as courtyard houses describing the courts that had been constructed within the back spaces that lay behind the frontage houses or shops. Later, rows upon rows of court houses were constructed on new land rather than squeezed in to small spaces that were once the gardens of large properties. By the 1780's it is possible to identify changes in the design of back houses as the layout became more formalised (Taylor 1970) with increased numbers of units, integrated with the frontage unit so they served as a whole, back-to-back style with the next court with access via a covered passageway. In Liverpool, courts were commonly built three storeys high, sometimes with a cellar. Court houses were built both back-to-back and side-to-back with anything from two to ten houses in each court. They were constructed in both an arched court or closed court style, entered via a narrow passageway and open court style where the entrance was the same width as the court itself resulting in improved ventilation. Court houses were built around a shared central courtyard typically with a stand pipe, an ashpit, and a toilet for the use of all residents.

As with other forms of eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth century urban housing, courts were described in historical accounts as overcrowded, insanitary, lacked adequate ventilation and were inhabited by the often poverty-stricken, working class thus becoming labelled as slums and their residents slum-dwellers. In literature related to the Liverpool Corporation plans to construct houses for those

displaced by slum clearances described the residents as the poorest poor (Pooley 1985). Contemporary sources provide physical descriptions of courts such as "….the old, dilapidated court houses with their…small squalid rooms." (Shimmin 1864, 3) and "The houses are generally built back to back, one end of the court, as a rule, is closed either by houses or, which is worse, by the privies and ashpits." (Shimmin 1864, 5) and again when referring to courts "Destitute of drainage and defiant of ventilation." (Shimmin 1864, 8).

It is clear that some court housing, particularly that built later, were better built and of better quality. Some of this later court housing was better laid out, better maintained, not overcrowded and so on (Stewart 2019).

4.3 The housing experience

From contemporary sources and modern opinions, it is possible to identify elements of the court housing experience that we can challenge or confirm using archaeological evidence and oral history.

The Museum of Liverpool has an extensive collection of models related to court housing and the Liverpool Record Office (LRO) hold an important archive of photographs, land-ownership records and contemporary reports from health inspectors. This can be complemented with research from nineteenth and twentieth century newspapers and other open source archives. There is an exhibition within the Museum of Liverpool about court housing, which features a life-size reconstruction of a partial court and a single room of a house, located in the People's Republic gallery. There is also an extant example of court housing at Pembroke Place, which is currently being investigated as part of the project *Galkoff's and the Secret Life of Pembroke Place*. With few extant remains and limited scope for archaeological investigation, oral history can provide evidence of the housing experience of court residents. Although the Museum of Liverpool has a strong tradition of recording, interpreting and using memories from oral history interviews, until the development of a recent project, *Our Humble Abodes,* the court housing collection did not include oral histories. Dr Liz Stewart, Curator of Archaeology and the Historic Environment at the Museum of Liverpool, and the

author conducted oral history interviews with former residents of court housing in 2013 and 2014 while the author was based at the Museum of Liverpool as a Community Archaeologist. These were the first oral history interviews conducted with former residents of this once prevalent form of housing.

The table shows the best-case scenario for the survival of evidence within each of the sources. Recognising that no site-based archaeological work has been carried out (the results of the July 2018 excavation of Pembroke Place are not yet available) this column remains blank however the potential for the housing experience will be addressed in section 4.41.

Element of the housing experience	**Archaeological record**	**Archaeology built heritage**	**Oral History**	**Documentary**
Quality of construction, neglect of repairs	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Building materials	N/a	Yes	Yes	Yes
Layout	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Windows (light)	N/a	Yes	Yes	Yes
Conditions, dampness, temperature	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Room use	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Amenities in dwelling, fixtures and fittings	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Size of property	N//a	Yes	Yes	Yes
Room dimensions	N/a	Yes	Yes	Yes

Overcrowding, frequency of occupation, sleeping arrangements	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Sanitation, washing, toilets	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Water supply	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Drainage, waste removal	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Decoration (lime wash, plaster, flooring)	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Shared amenities	N/a	No	Yes	No
Ventilation	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Wider neighbourhood	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Sense of community	N/a	No	Yes	No

Table 4.2: Table showing the predicted survival of the housing experience in court housing in Liverpool

4.3.1 Documentary

There is an abundance of historic, documentary evidence available for court housing including contemporary written accounts, social science journalism, health and housing reports, photographs, models and maps.

In England the 1891 census was the first to include specific questions on housing and the statistics show that, apart from London, Glasgow and Newcastle, Liverpool had the worst housing conditions in the country. Although census does not include variables such as room sizes so overcrowding cannot be identified. As with other major cities in England during the nineteenth century Liverpool was the subject of housing and health surveys, social studies and journalists. One of the most high-profile commentators was Hugh Shimmin, a journalist at The Porcupine, who is described by Taylor (1970) as bitterly sarcastic. Shimmin was a man of the people style journalist, he went among the residents of courts and alleys in order to record their circumstances and report back to the public. "….a very large majority of the working classes of this town reside in 'courts'. Those constructed before the Health of Towns Bill passed are ill-contrived, badly ventilated, miserable-looking dwellings……the classes of houses built since the operation of our health committee it has been felt are a great improvement on the older courts." (Shimmin in Walton and Wilcox 1991, 108). Much of Shimmin's writings on courts are heavily influenced by his opinions of the residents; the habits and behaviours he perceived and judged and so lack unbiased comments on the housing experience. Shimmin commented on the indifference of the people to what he perceived as a degraded condition. For example, "The structural evils of these miserable abodes are aggravated by the filthy habits of the occupants…..and so the duty of keeping the court and its conveniences clean is neglected." (Shimmin 1864, 6). Shimmin concluded that court residents were unwilling, through bad habits, low morals and idleness, to improve their residences "Where water is given it will be wasted, not used, where courts are flagged, they will not be washed or swept, where lanes or alleys are paved and drained, garbage will be allowed to cover the surface, the gulley-holes will be choked." (Shimmin 1864, 9). Shimmin pondered if the physical state of court dwellings was a cause of social issues "Whether the physical exhaustion caused by unhealthy dwellings has not something to do with the low state of morals and the craving for exciting drinks known to exist in such districts in a question worth thinking about." (Shimmin 1864, 8), however this did not prevent him from publishing brutal commentary on court residents. Shimmin did not appear to recognise other factors that contributed to the poor state of some court dwellings such as; their close proximity to warehouses impacting on their air quality and natural light, the "exorbitantly high" rents (Shimmin 1864, 10) forcing residents to live in affordable accommodation, the location of privies impacting negatively on air quality and causing dampness, lack of facilities for residents including a lack of water supply, flooding and overcrowding. Shimmin did acknowledge signs of court residents

attempting to improve their living conditions such as cleaning, covering their floors in rugs, covering damp walls with newspapers and lime washing. However, much of Shimmin's writings on courts and alleys of Liverpool blames residents for their living conditions including commenting on their foul manners, lack of education, lack of decency, coarse language, unemployed, unclean persons, slovenliness, moral pollution, addiction to alcohol and filthy habits. This is an option echoed elsewhere and at various dates for example, the Liverpool Land and House Owners Association in 1884 wrote that it was the habits of the people that created disease, the dirty and drunken tenants being allowed to accumulate filth (Pierce et al 1884). Some of the contemporary written accounts are produced by professionals employed to assess housing and housing conditions such as the Medical Officer of Health. They reflect the official account of court housing however they may lack suitable data to assess the housing experience for example, the Medical Officer of Health reports on large spatial units rather than on specific courts. Many of the documents on court housing are written by health inspectors and engineers. A typical record is the 1884 Northern Sanitary Association engineer report which defines insanitary property as habitation in which the health of inhabitants if affected by bad light, bad air and bad water (Coard 1884).

An alternative to the official documents is O'Mara (1933) who lived in a number of courts in Liverpool as a child at the start of the twentieth century. O'Mara (1933) provides a rare first-hand account of life in a court house and describes a court as a narrow alley receding off the street ending in a conglomeration of filthy shacks. About twenty-five large families lived in the average court with two revoltingly dirty toilets and thin walls. The family were forcibly moved on several occasions as they were objectionable to the other court residents. O'Mara (1933) called court residents "slummies" and the court houses "shacks" but otherwise provides little information about the houses themselves.

Photographs taken by city engineers in the early twentieth century provide some information about life in a court, and some information about the housing experience. These photographs often highlight the darkness and dampness of courts and point to overcrowding (Stewart 2019) and illustrate cases of extreme poverty, although one must consider these photographs may have been staged to

provide evidence to satisfy an agenda. Photographs show houses, room sizes, and the condition but not how the space was inhabited by residents.

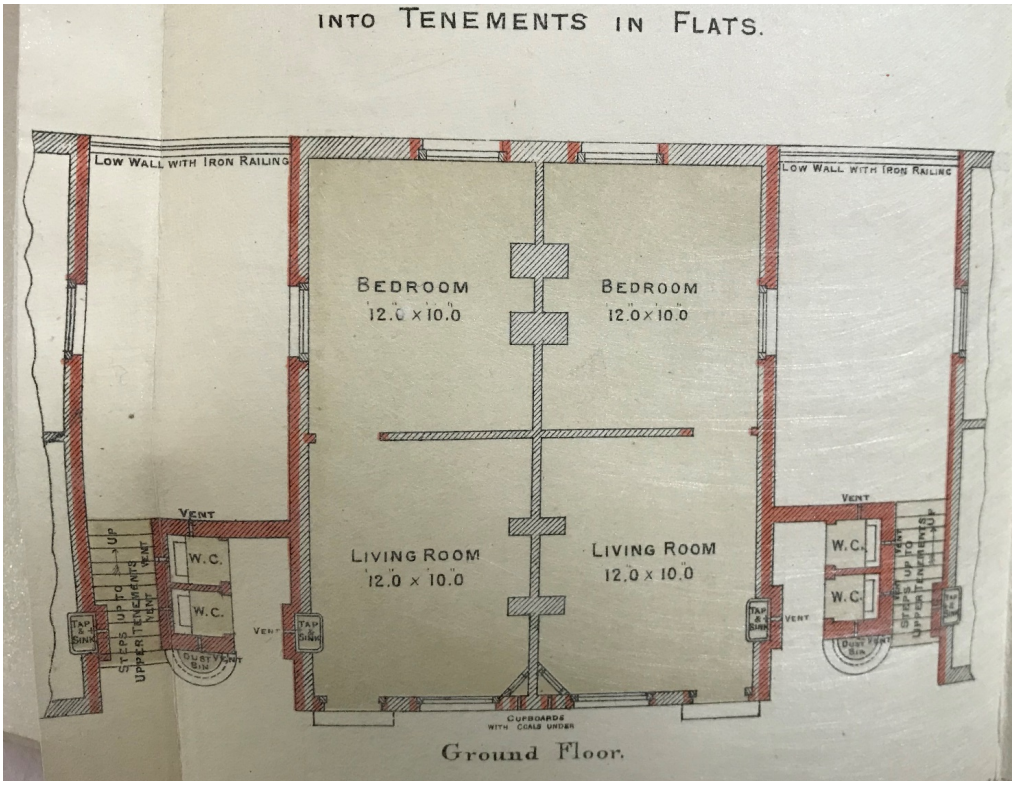

Figure 4.3: Plan of a court house intended to be converted into a tenement in 1884 in Liverpool

There are plans and models of court houses such as plans of courts that were intended to be turned into tenements. One set of plans from 1884 (fig. 4.3), and an associated report written by the City Engineer, suggests a single bedroom should not be less than 1000 feet with a separate water closet, ventilated cupboard, a coal bunker and a dust shoot. The aim was to provide immediate accommodation for those displaced by necessary demolition of insanitary housing. These plans show the court house was twelve feet by ten feet.

Figure 4.4: image of district five, plan of sanitary districts in Liverpool in 1844

The Sanitary Inspector created plans of the districts of Liverpool and registered the number of court houses occupied in each district. In 1884 in district five, where the Mann Street court some of the oral history narrators lived in was located, there was a high proportion of court housing with 990 court houses occupied (Fig. 4.4).

Figure 4.5: Image of a model of a court in Liverpool, 1909

Models of court housing were made to teach Medical Officers of Health and Sanitary Inspectors what to look for when inspecting housing. Figure 4.5 shows six three-storey houses surrounding communal toilets and an open drain.

4.3.2 Archaeology

Existing archaeological work in Liverpool has focused on the historic docks (Gregory et al 2014) and on Merseyside more generally (Philpott 2008a; Philpott 2008b) however, until July 2018, no court housing had been excavated. In July 2018 the project *Galkoff's and the Secret Life of Pembroke Place*, a Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) funded project and a joint undertaking between the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine (LSTM) and National Museums Liverpool, excavated to the rear of the extant court house on Pembroke Place. Sadly, this was delayed beyond the deadline for inclusion in this thesis.

In Liverpool widespread slum clearance programmes of the early to mid-twentieth century were so successful that very few extant remains of court dwellings exist today. There is a full-scale recreation of a court within the Museum of Liverpool created after detailed historical research was conducted by Dr Stewart and is intended to be as accurate a recreation as possible. Although a number of ghost features of court housing can be identified within the city, only one example of court housing remains, located at 35-39 Pembroke Place.

Pembroke Place, an offshoot of London Road, one of the primary routes out of the city, was home to two courts, Watkinson's Buildings and Watkinson's Terrace. Prior to the OS First Edition map of 1848 building forms can be difficult to identify on maps however both courts appear on the OS First Edition map of 1848 and therefore their construction can be dated to between 1835 and 1841 (Adams and Stewart 2017). Each court originally consisted of eight houses per court, four houses on each side of a shared courtyard with the central houses as back-to-back in style. The first houses of each court abutted the frontage units, commercial shops facing the road, of Pembroke Place which is the most likely explanation for their survival as the continued use of the shops has resulted in long-term occupation of the units. Sadly, the courts did not survive in their entirety, only two houses of Watkinson's

Terrace survive behind number 35 and number 37 Pembroke Place and one house of Watkinson's Buildings survives behind number 39 Pembroke Place. The frontage unit and four court housing units of number 41 are absent and the site on which they stood is now a tarmac carpark. The remains were listed in 2009 for the following reasons; they have special architectural interest as individual survivals of court-dwellings, a once numerous but now near-extinct building type, they have special historic interest in the context of Liverpool's massive early to mid-nineteenth century growth as a port city, they act as documents of early nineteenth century urban vernacular architecture and they are poignant testimonies to the realities of working class urban living. In 2018 the frontage units and extant first units of the demolished courts of number 37 and 39 are privately owned and function as a tailor's shop. In 2008 LSTM acquired number 35 and neighbouring properties on Pembroke Place with the intention of developing the land to create laboratories, classrooms and offices. In May 2014 a heritage investigation took place on behalf of LSTM to assess the scope for redevelopment. The report clearly recognises the important of the extant court dwellings with De Figueiredo (2014) commenting that the group provides exceptional interest from a social, historical and architectural perspective. The report proposes to conserve number 35, integrate it into the LSTM premises and fully repair it for future occupation and historical interpretation. The scheme would include the repair of damaged stone or brick work, re-point, replace the roof, refurbish and repair windows and replace the external rainwater fixtures. GATSLPP is currently engaging the community in the heritage of Pembroke Place with an exhibition in the Museum of Liverpool planned for October 2018.

What can the incomplete, yet extant, remains of court housing tell us about the housing experience of their residents? Each court was entered via Pembroke Place by a narrow passageway which passed between the frontage units of 35/37 and 39/41. At the end of each communal courtyard, opposite the Pembroke Place entrance, stood a pair of communal privies which were emptied from a rear passageway. Each house was three-storeys high and one bay wide, narrower than the frontage units. Originally each unit had a basement however this is now infilled. There was one room per floor with a narrow winding staircase against the rear wall (Adams & Stewart 2017; De Figueiredo 2014).

Upon investigating number 35 Pembroke Place, formally Watkinson's Terrace, it was found to be a one-up-one-down with a garrett (attic) room, smaller than the rooms on the ground floor and first floor, plus a cellar which is infilled. The author carried out a basic visual review of number 35 in April 2018 for this research with the assistance of Dr Stewart.

Figure 4.6: Image of the court house behind number 35 Pembroke Place

Building materials and amenities of houses

The court housing is of brick construction in a Flemish brick bond, each brick is 220mm/80mm/80mm and the walls are one stretch/two headers thick. The building was constructed in the 1830's and so the bricks are presumed to be handmade. Each floor had one window, facing into the court, and one door. No internal features survive in situ so the heating method within the property is unknown however the presence of the chimney suggests an open hearth.

Size of property and number of people occupying it

The ground and first floors are three meters and sixteen centimetres by three meters fifty-two centimetres.

Sanitation and drainage

No sanitation or drainage was evident.

Yard and neighbourhood facilities

The yard has been completely concreted over. The courtyard is three meters fifty centimetres wide whereas the entrance between the two frontage properties is two meters thirty-three centimetres wide.

4.3.3 Oral history

Figure 4.7: Image of the Mann Street court in 1953

Our Humble Abodes was a project developed by the author and Dr Stewart for the Museum of Liverpool to undertake primary research to fill the gap in our knowledge of Liverpool's court housing. This project was intended to engage local people with the history of working class housing in Liverpool through the recording of oral histories and the sharing of memories. The project aimed to; record oral histories of court housing that can be housed within the Museum of Liverpool collections, potentially providing an unofficial view of life in a court house.

The project was featured on BBC Radio Merseyside, in the Liverpool Echo newspaper, on the Museum of Liverpool blog and on the University of Liverpool News page in order to help locate potential narrators. Ten narrators were interviewed; eight of which had been former residents of court houses and two who had lived in close proximity to court housing (NS, JT), although one of the eight residents was keen to point out that while he lived in a court house, he didn't live in a court as there were only two of the houses of the court remaining (RL). Four of the narrators lived in the same court providing a unique insight. The narrators were given the option of where the interview would take place, some chose the comfort of their own home, and some opted to visit the Museum of Liverpool offices in the Martin Luther King Jr building at Albert Dock, formally the Dock Traffic Office (DTO). The interviewers were the author and Dr Stewart although only the author was present while interviewing BR. Siblings and family members were welcome to be present for the interview and take part in the interview. Although this makes for confusing transcribing at times, it gives narrators the opportunity to make the decision of who is present during the sharing of memories. Narrators engaged in oral history interviews, provided their own family photographs for the Museum of Liverpool collections, and were re-united with long-lost friends as a result of being involved.

Name	Dates memories of court housing span from	Age at time of interview (DOB)	Reason for moving	Address of court housing	How contacted project	Date of interview	Location of interview
NS	1929 (birth) - 1951	84 (1929)	N/a	23 Laxey Street, L8	Via an appeal on Radio Merseyside 08/2013	17/09/2013	In narrator's home
KS	1938 (birth)- 1955	74 (1938)	Moved from courthouse to larger house on Mann Street when he was 17	2 House, 5 Court, Mann Street	Via an appeal via Radio Merseyside 08/2013	24/09/2013	Meeting room at DTO
JT	unknown	77 (1935)	N/a	Lived in a 'parlour' house on Beaufort Street, L8 with Aunt and Uncle and grandparents lived in 1 House, 5 Court, Mann Street	Invited by cousin Mr Kenneth Smith	24/09/2013	Meeting room at DTO
MM	1937 (birth)- 1956	76 (1937)	Birth to 1956 when he joined the army	Lived in 5 House, 5 Court, Mann Street, L8	After seeing childhood neighbour in the Our Humble Abodes article in	22/01/2014	Meeting room at DTO

					Liverpool Echo 12/2013		
MH	1947 (birth)- unknown	66 (1947)	Birth to 18 months	Lived in 6 House, 5 Court, Mann Street, L8	Was invited to by Mr McCann to accompany him to the interview	22/01/2014	Meeting room at DTO
AS	1921 (birth)- 1935	93 (1921)	Moved out when the court was demolished and moved to nearby Blackstock Gardens	Off Vauxhall Road, L3	Her son contacted the project	05/02/2014	At the narrator's home
RL	1926 (birth)- 1942	87 (1926)	Moved out due to extensive blast damage during the Blitz. Moved to nearby Fonthill Road	11 Prince Edwin Street, L5 in one of two extant court houses	His daughter contacted the project after seeing the appeal on the Museum of Liverpool website	03/06/2014	At the narrator's home
BR	1940 (birth)- 1952	74 (1940)	Birth to 1954 when the family moved to tenement in Vauxhall Road, L3	Birth to 1954 when the family moved to tenement in Vauxhall Road, L3	Approached the project team	06/02/2014	Meeting room in DTO
AR	1942 (birth)- 1954	71 (1942)	Moved out to tenements in L8 after declining a new build	Number 2 House, Court 1, Back Field Street, L3	Invited by Brother Mr Anthony Morgan	20/09/2013	Meeting room in DTO

			in Kirkby				
AM	1944 (aged 3)-1954	69 (1944)	Moved to court house aged 3 and moved out to tenements in L8 after declining a new build in Kirkby	Number 2 House, Court 1, Back Field Street, L3	Via an appeal on Radio Merseyside 08/2013	20/09/2013	Meeting room in DTO

Table 4.3: Table showing the narrators of the oral history project

NS was the first narrator interviewed and, although she did not live in court housing herself, she lived from birth to her marriage in 1951 on a street with mixed housing types including a court immediately opposite her house which was a parlour house, a house with a front room used as a parlour or public room for guests. KS and JT are cousins and JT lived with their mutual grandmother on Beaufort Street which abutted the Mann Street court with through access. Their grandparents also lived in the court (1 House, 5 Court, Mann Street, L8). They were interviewed together as KS invited JT to accompany him as she was older and would most likely have memories to add to his account.

MM and MH are cousins (their mothers were half-sisters) and both lived in houses in the same Mann Street court as KS. MM contact the project after seeing KS and JT talking about court housing to the Liverpool Echo in December 2013. MM advised he would bring his cousin MH along as she lived in the court at the same time. MH moved in with her grandmother, who lived in the next street, aged eighteenth months following an illness attributed by the family to damp conditions in the court house. She recalled spending most of her time in the court house despite residing elsewhere. AS was the eldest child in a family of eight children. RL was an only child until his cousin moved in with the family. His family moved into the court house, one of only two still standing, and joined an existing tenant, an elderly lady. BR lived with his seven siblings in a court house on Saltney Street, L3. He left the court with his family in 1954, although it had been condemned in 1900, and moved to tenements

on Vauxhall Road, L3. AM and AR are brother and sister, of four siblings. AM contacted the project team following the Radio Merseyside appeal and asked if he could bring along his older sister AR who lives in South Africa but was on holiday in the UK.

For some it was an opportunity to take a stroll down memory lane and reminisce about their childhoods, a number of narrators expressed a sense of gratitude towards their former community for lessons learned, or shared feelings about life, not necessarily being better than today, but certainly a way of life that is now lost to them and to modern society. One narrator shared feelings of bitterness towards a hard childhood where court life forced her to grow up quickly and take on the responsibility of caring for her siblings and household resulting in memories being formed that echoed the existing, negative, historical view of life in courts.

Building materials and amenities of houses

A Liverpool court house can be described as three stories, some with cellars, each identical as the next house with the front elevation facing the front of your neighbour's house with the front houses were classed as being part of the court. Houses that had cellars rarely used them as they were either flooded or full of rubbish. Some had a single ground floor living room and some had two downstairs rooms, one for living and one used as a kitchen. Each room had one window, sash style, at the front of the house, no windows to the rear, and one narrator, RL, recalled the glass being replaced with opaque industrial glass following a number of Blitz blasts, which he described as distorting the view. There were no standard fixtures and fittings, and typically no internal sink or cupboards. The houses did not have electricity until at least 1956. KS recalled the residents approaching the power company about electricity being installed in the court however it wasn't until 1957, when KS had moved out, that MM recalled electricity being installed and his house, in the same court as KS, being the first to get it. The houses had a gas cooker, a gas mantle for light and fireplaces for traditional coal fires. Some of the houses did not have gas and so used paraffin oil lamps, one per room, and the fire for heating and cooking, although each narrator said the gas wasn't switched on for long due to being attached to a coin meter. The fire was used for both heating and cooking. Some of the narrators said the court houses were cold, particularly the garrett (attic) room and one narrator, AR, said their house was cold and damp. One narrator, MM,

recalled frost on the inside of the bedroom windows and that the family used to transfer hot embers from fireplace to fireplace to warm the rooms. The houses were described as damp by other narrators although on, BR, said his house was warm as a result of the fire being lit all day. One narrator, AM, commented the houses were "drab". One narrator, RL, remembers the internal doors having metal latches instead of handles, much like you would find on an external gate.

Some narrators commented that the houses remained standing when they left, some were reoccupied. Families left due to the houses being condemned however one narrator, AR, believes they left because the family became ill due to the damp conditions. MM recalled returning from serving in the army and finding house and the court had been demolished. KS and his family moved onto the main street, four doors away from their court house, for extra space.

Size of property and number of people occupying it

Occupant numbers is a difficult statistic to judge from the oral histories as family members moved out, died or were born. The oral histories suggest that the houses had a maximum of ten occupants and a minimum of three occupants, including the narrators, during the period of their lives that they resided in the court house. One family, that of RL, was the only example of a family sharing a property with non-kin. The family moved into a court house that had an existing tenant, an elderly lady however she passed away two years after the family moved in due to extensive burns from a paraffin lamp.

The houses in the court where KS, MM and MH lived had two downstairs rooms, a living room which could be accessed via the front door straight from the court and a "little parlour" or scullery with a Belfast style sink and draining board which led to the back yard. The first floor had two bedrooms and the attic room had a window and a fireplace. Some narrators were able to offer approximate dimensions of rooms. Those with one room downstairs, AM and AR, said the room was approximately twelve square meters at the most with the same space divided into three on the first floor. Another narrator, RL, recalled two rooms downstairs each approximately twelve feet by twelve feet plus a hallway approximately three feet wide. Some houses had a cellar, which wasn't used, and all had a garrett. RL said that they were

all very similar in his locality-high ceilings, rooms that were approximately twelve feet by twelve feet with the kitchen bigger than the living room and an outside toilet.

All of the narrators, expect RL who was fortunate enough to have his own bedroom until his cousin moved in with the family, commented that they shared a bedroom and often a bed-they "top and tailed it" as KS explained. MM's family all shared the same bedroom. AS commented that the bedroom was approximately five meters by three meters but that she didn't mind sharing a bed because they were lucky to have a house. This was either because there was only one room upstairs or because there was only enough room for one bed in the upstairs rooms. AM and AR said that two of their siblings did go and sleep in the garret when overcrowding became an issue. Others, for example BR, said they didn't use the garrett preferring to send female members of the family to sleep with relatives in the nearby landings. AR commented that they were lucky to only have four children in the family as some had ten. BR said he regularly ate his dinner sitting on the stairs as the room wasn't large enough to fit a family table in. BR commented he didn't spend much time in the house as there was little room. He also mentioned that court residents were more prone to having accidents due to the houses being so small.

Sanitation and drainage

Toilets were situated in external brick blocks at the top end of the court. The toilet block may have been split into several units with a shared wooden platform with a hole through for each unit. Narrators recalled you could look through the hole and see the channel of excreta from the other units. Some families were fortunate enough to have their own toilet, such as KS, AR and AM, however most shared with neighbours in the court. One narrator, BR, recalled two toilet units being used by eight households whereas one narrator, AR, recalls one toilet unit being used by seven or eight households.

In the court itself were other shared facilities including water pump, or tap, and an ashbin. The outside tap was often the only source of water although one narrator had a cold water tap inside their court house. Another recalled the water at the outside tap only being available for parts of the day and mentioned occasions where she was scolded by adults for wasting water or reminded that water from the pump was not intended for resident use but was for the cart horses. Clothes washing was

carried out using a bowl or several bowls. Residents washed using boiled water in the sink with a bar of soap to their wash hands and face with a tin bath once a week for a full bath or they visited the local public baths. KS recalls using his grandparents washing facilities at their home which was not a court house. Narrators recalled that limited access to hot water led to neighbourliness and that their neighbours would pass along used washing water to be reused. It was mentioned that despite the limited nature of washing facilities the court and houses were scrubbed so clean by residents you could eat off the surface. One narrator, AS, was keen to point out that there was no internal hot water and no bath. This was her favourite thing about moving from a court house into a landings style property.

Flooring was flag tile paving, sometimes with linoleum covering or oilcloth, sometimes with no covering particularly in the upstairs rooms which had wooden floorboards. Some houses had wallpaper, some were wallpapered with newspaper and flour paste and some were bare horsehair and plaster, occasionally whitewash/lime painted along with the furniture. The woodwork was painted with a dark green/brown tar paint which was described by one narrator, KS, as being smelly.

Yard and neighbourhood facilities

It is possible from the testimonies to identify a less built up residential neighbourhood than described in the historical written records as the Blitz and slum clearance programme helped to remove back houses and create gaps where centre houses once stood.

AR said the court was just wide enough for a Shire horse to enter. Narrators described the court itself was paved with flagstones although AR and AM's landlord had concreted over the paving flags, this memory a result of a young AR slipping on the concrete and hurting herself. Shared facilities in the court include features previously discussed; toilets, water pump and ashcan. There was also one gas lamp for light although NS recalled the court on her street was "dark" but couldn't say exactly why this was. In some courts centre houses were demolished to create space to improve the living conditions for residents or to build alternative residences such as landings. BR said the spaces created by removing centre houses in his court was used for laundry, for the placement of mangles or to hang clothes. RL said

he lived in a court house but not in a court as all the back houses had been demolished. Others though their area was more built up when the landings or gardens were built, such as Caryl Gardens. Narrators recalled they did not play in their own court as it was of limited size, AR recalled the ladies of the court sitting in the court to play bingo. Many played in the ruins of the sites of bombing. Some games such as football were popular.

Narrators could describe the wider neighbourhood which, due to being in the city centre, was made up of warehouses and shops. Testimonies were able to provide details on services available and offered to court residents such as that of a "knocker upper", a gentleman who would act as an alarm clock and knock on your bedroom window to wake you. A local bakehouse was a useful service on a Sunday advised AR. One could take a pot of prepared meat and vegetables to the bakehouse for it to be cooked so the family could have a hot meal. For residents in north Liverpool Great Homer Street was a location of a large market where individual stalls could compete for custom. RL said it was a fantastic shopping centre, better than our modern supermarkets. AR recalls Great Homer Street for an alternative reason; that the courts in the area were filthy. There were public baths available and shops where you could buy lime for whitewashing walls. The butchers and bakers were also shops that a number of narrators could recall. The community spirit of the court was recalled by many of the narrators. KS described his court as being "like a clan" and AR recalled "The people were lovely. We were all together, it's not like now, you know. You don't even know your next-door neighbours now or anything. People were nice, people were interested in people….everyone knew everyone's name….I loved the people.".

The demolishment of court housing and the relocation of residents appears in the memories of former residents. When asked about how the family felt about the courts being condemned and families being relocated KS replied "Pleased! I think my mum was pleased, yeah…..lovely house with a bathroom and garden-wow!". When asked about her feelings about the courts being demolished AR commented "They put people out in Kirkby….out in the sticks. There was no shops…..there was no comradeship between old neighbours. And you were stuck. People went out of their mind. It was absolutely a disaster and all people wanted was to come back to the city where it was bustling and vibrant and your neighbours was neighbours, and

everyone knew one another….so my mam wouldn't go there." RL quoted something his grandmother frequently said when discussing the relocation of court residents "you can't replant old trees".

Non-oral memories

One narrator, RL, also contributed written accounts of court housing in the form of his own creative writing whilst two others, KS and MM, contributed photographs of the court.

Long before the oral history interview RL had been researching and making sense of his own life history by engaging in recalling, processing and recording his memories in a creative written form. These writings particularly focus on his childhood using the form of poetry and a diary style memoir which falls into the categories of nostalgia, reminiscence and family history research. RL's creative writing, approximately 10,000 words of poetry and autobiography, can also help to construct a description of court housing. Creative writing is designed to suit a purpose, for example words used in RL's poems may have been chosen to fit within the context and style of the poem rather than as a reflection of the truth. The intention of creative writing is to tell a story not to provide a clinical account. RL choose to write his story because "My purpose is to recall what things were like for ordinary people like me who grew up in Liverpool during the early part of the twentieth century." (Lyon 2014, 1). Unlike the oral history interview RL had time to consider the words he used and the memories he shared and had time to shape and amend the writing to enable it to be in a readable format. There is the potential this written testimony influenced the memories shared during the oral history interview, that by already revisiting these memories it shaped and focussed them and affected what was recalled during the oral history interview (Appendix B), that RL focused he recall on these memories because they had already been shared as his version of the past. However, it is possible the written memoir serves as a more focussed transcript for the oral history interview, a written version to fact check against. Through the memoir a more detailed and a clearer description of court housing can be constructed.

RL commented that he had lived in one of the worst and poorest slum districts in Liverpool in one of the two remaining court houses on Prince Edwin Street as the

back houses of the court had already been demolished. From his written memoir it is possible to construct a description of court housing that complements the account provided during the oral history interview. The house was three stories high with a cellar that the family did not use due to it being flooded. The ground floor was two to three feet higher than street level and was accessed by several steps from the street. On this floor were two “basic” sized rooms, a parlour and a kitchen, a “long lobby” and stairs to the first floor. The first floor had bedrooms and a landing which had a spiral staircase to a garret room that the family did not use. Each bedroom had its own fireplace. The floor covering downstairs was lino with wooden boards upstairs and on the stairs. Each room had large windows with shutters although the family used blinds instead. There was a coal fire which was used for cooking and heating as it was kept on a low heat constantly and was raised according to need. The family used oil lamps and candles for light. RL said he was programmed to look after his belongings and not wish for new which made him value what he had “….there were always others worse off than us.” (Lyon 2014, 13). There was a brick toilet unit with two separate doors leading to two toilets which were a wooden bench seat with a hole in the centre and a channel below. The toilets had previously been used by all houses in the court but was now only used by them. RL described this as “lucky”. They used cold water daily to wash their hands and faces and boiled water over the fire to fill the galvanised tin bath once a week.

The family moved into the house and rented only part of it initially. The main occupant was an elderly lady who died when RL was two. RL lived in the house with his parents, sister and cousin. He wrote “…so much light in the street unlike inside our house, it was so dark and dreary in there.” (Lyon 2014, 7). The court was concrete and quite large due to the back houses been absent. RL described this as a “holler” with rubble where the courts had been. He and friends used the space to play football. He wrote that the street was not very clean but that the women would keep the front of their house clean by scrubbing the pavement and steps in front of their houses. “I wasn’t aware of any danger or of the condition of the street which must have been in a bad way with dirt and rubbish lying around because we were in one of the worst slum areas.” (Lyon 2014, 7). It must be noted that this statement sounds suspiciously like it has been influenced by the mainstream narrative of court housing as a slum. RL recalled a small park nearby with swings and a childhood game of “wishful thinking” where they would gather outside of sweet shop “Cranes” and play a choice game of who would have each type of sweet, despite not having

the means to purchase anything. Maggie Saxons was the local chandlers where the family would buy paraffin oil and candles. It also provided used comic books. RL commented on the neighbourhood “We were living in a community where everyone seemed to play a part. There always seemed to be someone with knowledge or ability to cater for most problems that came our way and the help came without asking.” (Lyon 2014, 14).

Residents of the Mann Street court reconnected with one another during the project and enthusiastically arranged a reunion. This was the first time they had seen each other since 1956. They were joined by MMG, another resident of the Mann Street court, whom was unable to be interviewed due to her ill health. The reunion involved the former residents sharing photographs and talking about their childhoods and members of the community they remembered. It is possible to use the photographs KS and MM provided to construct a factual description of court housing. The court is an open style with a gas lamp at the street opening, is brick built with stone mantles and at least two stories high. The court is flag paved with a gulley down the centre, an ashbin on the back wall and the rear of the court abuts a building with windows. The ground floor of the houses are whitewashed and the window frames on the houses are painted both black and white. There appears to be a private access for each house to a side or rear yard, possibly home to a toilet block. The court appears to be clean and clear of rubbish. The photographs were taken of a street party to celebrate the coronation and depict a large table running down the centre of the court with a tablecloth, flags and bunting.

Figure 4.8: Image showing the Mann Street court in 1953

There are obvious concerns with using photographs and creative writing to construct an account of court housing. The photographs were taken, not to illustrate or record the court or housing itself, but to record an event, a community celebration. It is likely the housing experience of court life during a period of celebration was different from the court during everyday life.

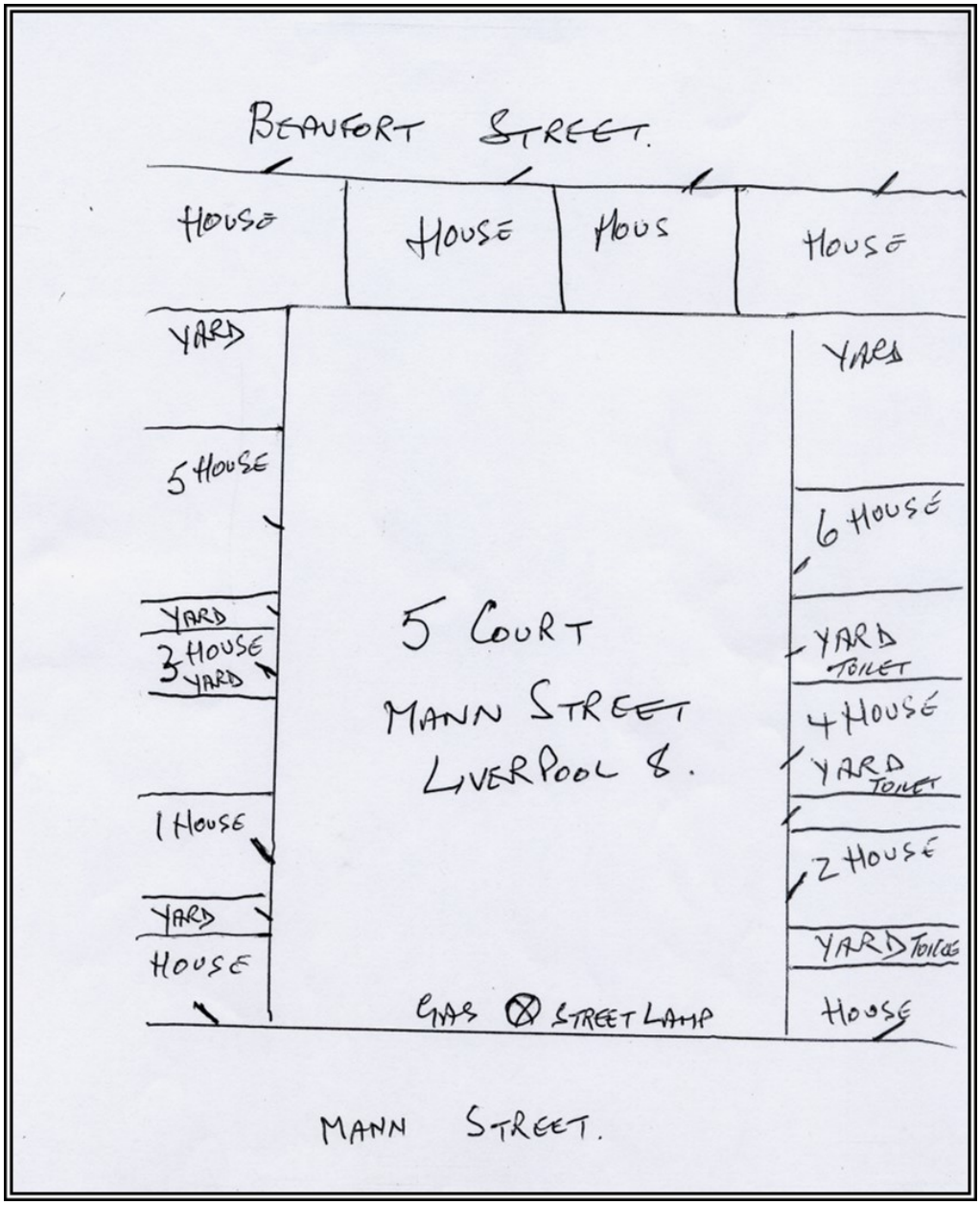

Figure 4.9: Plan of the Mann Street court drawn by narrator KS during the oral history interview

KS provided a sketch (fig. 4.9) of the Mann Street court during his oral history interview. The sketch closely resembles the photograph (fig. 4.8) but is intriguing as, although not to scale, KS gave prominence to the court yard which is drawn much larger than the houses. Perhaps experiencing produced memories focussed on the space where he spent the most time. The oral history testimonies also provided memories of other relevant themes, not within my housing experience criteria but important as themes that the combined approach can better interpret such as poverty and attitudes.

4.4 Discussion of findings

4.4.1 Survival

The author conducted the oral history interviews and so could construct the questions and guide the narrator into sharing memories of the housing experience that went beyond the physical structure of the house, court and wider neighbourhood. These memories and opinions give a richer understanding of what life was like in a court house and in court housing plus the community they were a part of as children. It is in these memories we can begin to find evidence of attachment to place, of place identity and grief, community spirit, of a lively, thriving community, relative poverty, survival, comradery and nostalgia.

Element of the housing experience	**Archaeological record**	**Archaeology built heritage**	**Oral History**	**Documentary**
Quality of construction, neglect of repairs	N/a	Yes	Yes	Yes
Building materials	N/a	Yes	Yes	Yes
Layout	N/a	Yes	Yes	Yes
Windows (light)	N/a	Yes	Yes	Yes
Conditions, dampness, temperature	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Room use	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Amenities in dwelling, fixtures	N/a	Yes	Yes	Yes

and fittings				
Size of property	N/a	Yes	Yes	Yes
Room dimensions	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Overcrowding, frequency of occupation, sleeping arrangements	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Sanitation, washing, toilets	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Water supply	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Drainage, waste removal	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Decoration (lime wash, plaster, flooring)	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Shared amenities	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Ventilation	N/a	No	No	Yes
Wider neighbourhood	N/a	No	Yes	Yes
Sense of community	N/a	No	Yes	No

Table 4.4: Table showing the actual survival of the housing experience of court housing in Liverpool

With no archaeological results available the evidence from the oral history interviews can be used to identify what could be found in the archaeological record and what conclusions could be drawn regarding the housing experience.

Things you would anticipate finding in the archaeological record based on the oral histories;

- Brick built-horse hair and lime plaster walls, lime wash, possibly with a wallpaper covering, possibly whitewashed newspaper whitening
- Evidence of damp, presence of damp proofing
- Paved floor, flag tiled floor, possibly covered in lino or oilcloth lined with newspapers
- Size of the court, layout of the court-houses/doors faced into court and facing the row opposite, court house and layout of downstairs rooms. One-up, one-down style houses had one approximately twelve square meter room, two-up, two down style houses had two rooms approximately twelve feet by twelve feet
- Location and type of windows-one window per room, no window to the rear elevation, sash style
- Woodwork-painted with tar paint (green or brown)
- Evidence of staircases-all court houses had three stories, some with a cellar
- Fire place and grate-coal
- Gas-ring/mantle for cooking, lighting
- Potential addition of electricity
- Cellar-evidence of flooding, evidence of being unused, evidence of being full of rubbish, railings/removal of railings
- Evidence of the Blitz such as blast damage, evidence of industrial style glass and shutters
- Open/closed court, some houses removed to create gaps
- Internal cold water plumbing and sink
- External toilet facilities such as brick built, wooden seat, chain flush
- Paved court, possibly with later concrete surface
- Potentially a small back yard (didn't define small in interviews)
- Single outside gas lamp in court
- Shared outside tap and pump, possibly located centrally or on wall
- Outside bin, ashbin, rubbish
- Environmental evidence-rats, beetles, cockroaches
- Children's toys-marbles, pebbles

Based on the above the Archaeologists could make informed judgements of the following;

- Presence of poverty
- Warmth of house
- Darkness of houses and court
- Cleanliness
- Dampness
- Depending on the agreed definition of a slum whether the memories/opinions of residents were accurate with regards to comments about them being slums/not slum

Things you wouldn't anticipate finding in the archaeological record based on the oral histories;

- Existence of electricity in north
- Overcrowding or sleeping arrangements
- Number of residents or number of people sharing facilities
- Illness or disease
- Children's toys/evidence of playing
- Furniture or fitted sink
- Neighbourliness/sense of community
- Re-use/making do/making things last
- Moving around the same community
- Sense of security, for example no robberies
- Family values
- Number of stories (although the existence of staircase would enable one to make a judgement)

4.4.2 The combined approach

From contemporary sources and modern opinions, it is possible to identify court housing experience characteristics that can be challenged, or used to confirm, using the oral history testimony. In the absence of archaeology is oral history an alternative source of evidence with which to assess the housing experience? What is unique about the Liverpool case study is that, within the context of this research, it demonstrates the oral history is still worth doing without the archaeology and it is worth doing for the combined approach using the built heritage and documentary source material. The primary reason for doing the oral history is to collect and preserve these oral objects for the future, potentially when remains of court housing have been excavated. The documentary evidence for court housing in Liverpool is dominated by nineteenth century accounts, or by early twentieth century accounts created during the era of the slum clearance programmes. This research introduces an alternative, early to mid-twentieth century view of court housing.

Liverpool court housing provides a unique opportunity with which to investigate the value that memories contribute to and challenge the accepted historical view of this type of housing due to an absence of physical archaeological investigation. During the nineteenth century cellars were commonly rented out as a separate dwelling, providing a self-contained dwelling space for a family. In the twentieth century, when cellar dwellings were abolished, the residents of courts had the liberty not to use the space as the oral history testimony suggested. The blitz changed the Liverpool landscape and was responsible for the demolition of court houses on Saltney Street, home to BR. Once the spaces between the extant houses was cleared the residents made use of the space for laundry, but this is likely to have improved ventilation in the courts also. The oral history testimony suggested the houses and outdoor spaces were used differently over time, seemingly in a more humane way than their nineteenth century counterparts.

There are unique and interesting factors to consider with the oral histories. When considering the reliability of the memories shared the author found an interesting characteristic with the oldest narrator AS. She displayed what is best described as a memory loop, for example, AS focussed her recollections on a particular detail of court life, water. Certainly, water supply, water quality, sanitation and drainage are

all aspects of public health and housing that were a focus of city engineers, health inspectors and sanitary inspectors from the mid-nineteenth century. This may go some way to explain why these memories were a focus of her recollections. However, the fact that her memories focus solely on water themes, washing, water supply, playing with the pump, adults scolding her for wasting water, on a loop with little variation and with no amount of guidance to aid further recall, may be more an issue with memory than the importance of water as an element of the housing experience.

Consider also the bias a narrator may have. In this study, all the narrators were self-selected, contacting the project as a result of a radio and newspaper appeal. They all identified as former residents of court housing and contacted the project willing to share their thoughts and experiences. Did the narrators want to be recorded to help the Museum, to be memorialised within a museum collection, to share their experiences, to reminisce, to take control of their childhoods? Probably all of these. Some potential narrators, who were not interviewed, were unable, or unwilling, to be interviewed yet they still got in touch with the project and wanted to share memories without being recorded formally. One potential narrator, MMG, lived in the Mann Street court, the same one that KS and co lived in, and the author was able to meet her at the same time the Mann Street reunion occurred. The former neighbours had not seen each other for fifty years and it was a real pleasure to be invited along to the potential narrator's home. Sadly, she was too unwell to be interviewed. Another potential narrator, GM, was unable to be interviewed, and had lived in "Scotch" houses in L3 and had memories of court housing in the area. He very kindly completed a written questionnaire to contribute his memories. Another potential narrator, FR got in touch after seeing the *Our Humble Abodes* article in the Liverpool Echo newspaper as he lived on 223 Upper Mann Street, L8 and had written a book about his childhood. Another potential candidate, AB, was reluctant to be interviewed however did meet with the author for a visit to the site of her former court house and a tour of the neighbourhood. This was an enjoyable trip as she was able to recall many details about her former home and we were treated to a tour of the church the court abutted where she was christened. We have remained in touch via Facebook and she commented that it was the best day of her life.

Narrators contributed a range of perspectives. For example, one narrator was the lone, negative voice and spoke out against court housing, citing reasons why this form of housing was responsible for her tough childhood and questioned why anyone would be nostalgic for that way of life. Two things that are unique about this narrator is that she was the head of the household while her parents were unavailable, “We say ‘God, do you remember the courts?’ We’ve come a long way since the courts”. AR was the only narrator who commented she did not feel like she had a childhood because when her mother was hospitalised, for reasons AR attributed to the poor conditions of the court house, she was responsible for taking care of the younger children in the family. Curiously her brother AM could not recall any “bad times” during his childhood. AR assumed the role of mother to the younger siblings and it is this responsibility that makes her narration less like a memory formed during childhood and more like a review of her life through the lens of an adult. She is also the only narrator no longer living in Merseyside, living abroad in a hot climate in a large house with a swimming pool. It is this extreme juxtaposition of housing and lifestyles that make her contribution unique.

A particularly successful aspect of the oral history project were the photographs of the Mann Street court shared by KS and MM (fig. 4.7, fig. 4.8). The photographs were taken during a street party to celebrate the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in June 1953. They depict the children seated at a long table that runs down the centre of the court, with adults standing behind the children and the court houses surrounding. The photographs are taken from both ends of the court and so show the court open to the street and the ashbin. These, plus the sketch of the court (fig. 4.9), provide a unique insight into the housing experience as they are rare examples of photographs taken by residents of court housing rather than by inspectors with an agenda to document the courts. These written accounts and photographs sharply contrast with our own understanding of a home making it very easy to fall into the trap of remembering and memorialising the mid-nineteenth century to mid-twentieth century working class housing experience as a Monty Python Four Yorkshiremen style parody. Many of the second-hand memories, or oral tradition, fall into what could be categorised as dark nostalgia, which will be discussed further in chapter seven. Those who did not experience life in a court can often be the most vocal when discussing what it was like and here the official historical narrative is accepted, shared and perpetuated. Those who were not part of the community of courts appear to view this form of housing and way of life with nostalgia, but a rather dark

nostalgia. For example, “It’s a wonder half of those courts didn’t fall down before they were cleared. Different world that was. You had to have proper Scouse nouse to get through those times.” (Goldenface, 2007, Yo Liverpool). Pablo42 continues the theme “Amazing that people lived like that. You wonder what gave them the strength to go on.” (2009, Yo Liverpool). With the decline of Liverpool as a result of a lack of public funding in the 1980’s, it is worth considering this destructive end to a once prevalent housing type may have left its mark on the memory of Liverpool residents. The courts are described by AR as “worse than slums” and that people in the courts “lived like rats”. However, narrators shared conflicting memories and opinions which suggested their housing experience was on the whole a positive one. AR described the court as “close-knit” where everyone knew each other’s name and shared mixed feelings of relief and sadness over that way of life being lost forever. “They were lovely days, you know. I wouldn’t change them for the world. I wouldn’t change anything. We can appreciate what we’ve got and it’s a way of life that’s gone forever, you know? There’s nothing to cry about, not really.”

There are examples from within the oral histories that provide instances of the housing experience that cannot be found in the archaeological record or documentary sources. Memories that display traits of an attachment to place or grief for a lost home, for example, “I have this little dream now and again… our house is still standing there, and I’m walking over rubble, you know, up the court, and I go in the house … there’s an armchair there, and the old steel fireplace, it’s got the oven and the range and everything, and I’m standing looking round and I see a little flicker in the ash like that, and I goes over and the pokers there so I just give it a little nudge and the next thing the fire lights up! So I just sit down there and look at the fire and then puff-it just disappears! It’s like, you know, you were happy there so that dream is like, you get that little flicker of light and when you touch it, it all becomes lovely and warm again, so you’re ……home.”**(**MM). MM left his court house to serve in the military and returned to rubble when the courts had been demolished. His dream, above, displays an attachment to his former home and displacement grief, a longing for home. RL seemed to summarise the attachment to place well “It’s just my opinion like but….it’s about people not places. And the more people, everybody was packed in, and you learnt something from everybody, so all those people you could virtually say that it was a mass of opinions and skills, helping you to judge things. That was the good part of living in a packed area where people found it hard to live. And they found out how to get on with one another, put all the

things that they worry about went out the window, the first thing they wanted to do was survive so that meant getting on with one another."

It must be noted that their memories were formed as young children rather than literally from birth. The concept of memories being formed through the eyes of childhood is intriguing. That any aspects of the house were remembered, particularly in such detail, is impressive given the more exciting, carefree experiences children tend to have. The memories shared by the narrator's contrast sharply with the documentary opinions from the previous century. "The sight of these children as they huddled together in this smokey, miserable house, was distressing. What will be the remembrance of home be to them in future years?" (Shimmin 1864, 14). Shimmin found it hard to imagine what could improve the dreary life that children of courts were doomed to live whereas some of the narrators noted how, as children, they were always outside playing. BR shared "As children, you know we had a great childhood…….'cause we were all the same. We had no expectations 'cause we got what we could afford." AR felt similarly, "How can you say they are lovely memories?! It's 'cause you were happy and it's hard to be happy." An opinion in sharp contrast to the nineteenth century accounts.

4.5 Conclusion

This case study has shown the potential for oral history to challenge a consistent documentary record, whilst still confirming some elements. The potential for oral history to aid the development of an archaeological approach to the excavation of court housing is exciting. The oral histories in this case study are valuable because they provide an alternative view of court housing that both confirm and challenge the existing historical record. For example, Pooley et al (1994) comments that Liverpool was facing an acute housing shortage in the 1920's citing the 1925 the Medical Officer of Health report which estimated a shortfall of 18,000 houses and that overcrowding continued to be severe. However, only two interviews revealed signs of overcrowding. One family, then of three, moved into a property that has a single older lady already residing in it. AR recalled people fearful when the inspector called and that parents would hide children in neighbouring properties so not to draw attention to the number of children residing in the house. So, overcrowding existed but in many forms and with different experiences.

One concern is the small number of narrators interviewed as one could argue that RL, NS and JT do not count as former residents. With additional time and funding additional narrators could have been interviewed plus former residents of other forms of working class housing in Liverpool such as the landings, gardens and prefabs which would allow a comparison of the housing experience of different dwellings. There are also issues of bias, why the narrators chose to be interviewed, their motivations and agendas. The author considers their involvement to be unbiased as they became involved with the project purely to share what they knew about court housing with the Museum of Liverpool, recognising that there was no intention of the material going into the galleries in the near future. KS arrived at the interview and, following the tape being switched on to record, proceeded to read out a short statement about life in a court house and then asked if that was all we needed from him. He hadn't fully understood what the interview would involve and the detail we had hoped to elicit. A number of the narrators have attended the author's talks about court housing and have remained in touch to enquire about how this research is going. They are keen to see how their memories will be used and learn that their testimony has been informative.

Although some of the testimonies showed hints of nostalgia and reminiscence it does not necessarily mean their memories are false or unreliable. However, one should question and determine how much of an effect popular culture has had on the narrators and the lens in which they recalled the housing experience. Liverpool is a particularly nostalgic place from Facebook sites, to walking tours and Beatle-mania. Heritage and culture in Liverpool are geared towards the nostalgia of being Scouse and being proud of the city and its accomplishments. Facebook groups are a clear example of how past communities and geographical neighbourhoods can reconnect to reminisce about times and people gone by and Liverpool has several prominent groups. The Liverpool Echo newspaper has a regular column for times gone by and there is an active Liverpool History Society. It must be acknowledged however, that memories supporting popular culture, or each other, or that are quaint, are not necessarily untrue.

Many of the memories explain a sense of community in the court or advise that people stuck together and supported each other which potentially confirms the

official historical record “The stubborn attachment of poor people to foul houses…is truly marvellous.” (Shimmin 1864, 9). Census returns show some situations where a house was rented long term, over a number of generations, and this is confirmed by the oral histories. The houses appear to have improved over time with narrator JT responding to a question about courts as slums she replied “That must have been well before our time. We were better off.”

Despite the wider public displaying dark nostalgia, the narrators provide accounts that are remarkably average, rich in detail of the housing experience, but with no overwhelming nostalgia or condemnation of court housing as slums.

Chapter Five: Back-to-back housing in Hungate, York 1812-1936

5.1 Introduction

Figure 5.1: Image of Hungate in 1890 taken from Leetham's Mill

Typically, Post-Medieval York is under-researched in favour of, more commonly, the Roman and Viking periods of occupation. York is unique because it offers archaeological evidence spanning 2000 years of human occupation.

A major archaeological project, commercially funded to reuse the mostly abandoned Hungate area for the development of new housing but with significant elements of community archaeology embedded within it, commenced in 2006 and afforded the opportunity to archaeologically re-investigate an area of Post-Medieval York well documented in the historical record. Hungate was a neighbourhood of speculative back-to-back housing erected from 1812 and demolished during the 1930's as part of a slum clearance initiative by York City Council. Hungate had been the focus of an oral history project which was conducted in 1993 by York Oral History Society

(YOHS) as part of their St Saviourgate research project. So, can the combined approach of archaeology, documentary research and oral history help us to better understand the housing experience of those who lived in the area of Hungate?

The significance of Hungate lies in its relationship to the social scientist Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree who designated the area as a slum following his pioneering poverty survey conducted in 1899 (Rowntree 1901). The archaeological work, including the desk-based research conducted as part of the archaeology, and the testimonies of former residents collected via oral history interviews prior to excavation, provided a unique opportunity to challenge Rowntree and the deep-rooted historical slum label. Indeed, much of the literature on Hungate focusses on what Hungate can contribute to our understanding of slum neighbourhoods on a global scale (Giles and Rees Jones 2011; Mayne 2011).

Additionally, Hungate represents a unique opportunity to investigate the relationship between archaeology, documentary sources and oral history accounts at a site that is primarily domestic dwellings of the working class. It is also an opportunity to investigate the physical remains of domestic properties for evidence of the housing experience and living conditions without the previous assumptions that poverty played a part in the inhabitant's lives. It is important to consider how the Hungate excavations can contribute to our understanding of slum sites, whether the term is accurate or not at Hungate, the living conditions of slum-dwellers and our understanding of urban social disadvantage on a global scale. Much research was carried out on the archaeology of poverty as a result of the Hungate excavations including the poverty symposium in York in July 2009. Hungate represented a unique opportunity to investigate a site of continuous occupation, constrained by city walls and existing structures, with a rich and varied source of historical documents and a lengthy five-year excavation limit and compare it to other slum sites across the globe (Walker et al 2011) to contribute to our understandings of slum neighbourhoods in general, and a slum neighbourhood within a small city of limited industry in particular. "Hungate's significance thus lies in its potential to test and perhaps upset assumptions and findings that currently hold sway." (Mayne 2011, 555) about poverty, slums and slum-dwellers.

Street Name	Oral History	Archaeology	Built heritage	Rowntree, 1901	Documentary
Spen Lane	Yes	No	N/a	Map	No
St Saviour's Place/Court	Yes	No	N/a	No	No
St Saviourgate	Yes	No	N/a	Map	Yes
Hay Market (inc Leeds Arms, Bricklayer's Arms)	Yes	No	N/a	Map	Yes
Haver Lane	Yes	Yes	N/a	Map	Yes
Dundas Street	Yes	Yes	N/a	Map	Yes
Tower Buildings	No	No	N/a	No	No
Dundas Place	Yes	Yes	N/a	No	Yes
Palmer Lane (formally Pound Lane)	Yes	Yes	N/a	Map	Yes
Hungate	Yes	Yes	N/a	Map	Yes
Garden Place	Yes	No	N/a	Map	Yes
Carmelite Street, "brass rapper row"	Yes	Yes	N/a	Map	Yes
Lower Wesley	Yes	No	N/a	No	Yes

Place					
Wesley Place	Yes	No	N/a	No	Yes
Broom's Court	No	No	N/a	No	No
Sawmill Lane	Yes	No	N/a	No	No
Stonebow Lane	Yes	No	N/a	No	No
Duke of York Street	No	No	N/a	No	No
Webster's Passage	Yes	No	N/a	No	No
St Johns Place	Yes	Yes	N/a	No	Yes
Peasholme Green (Black Swan, Woolpack)	Yes	No	N/a	No	No
Waudby's Yard	No	Yes	N/a	No	No
Pound Garth	Yes	Yes	N/a	No	No
Kendal's Passage	Yes	No	N/a	No	No

Table 5.1: Table of available evidence for the streets of Hungate

5.2 History of housing in York and Hungate

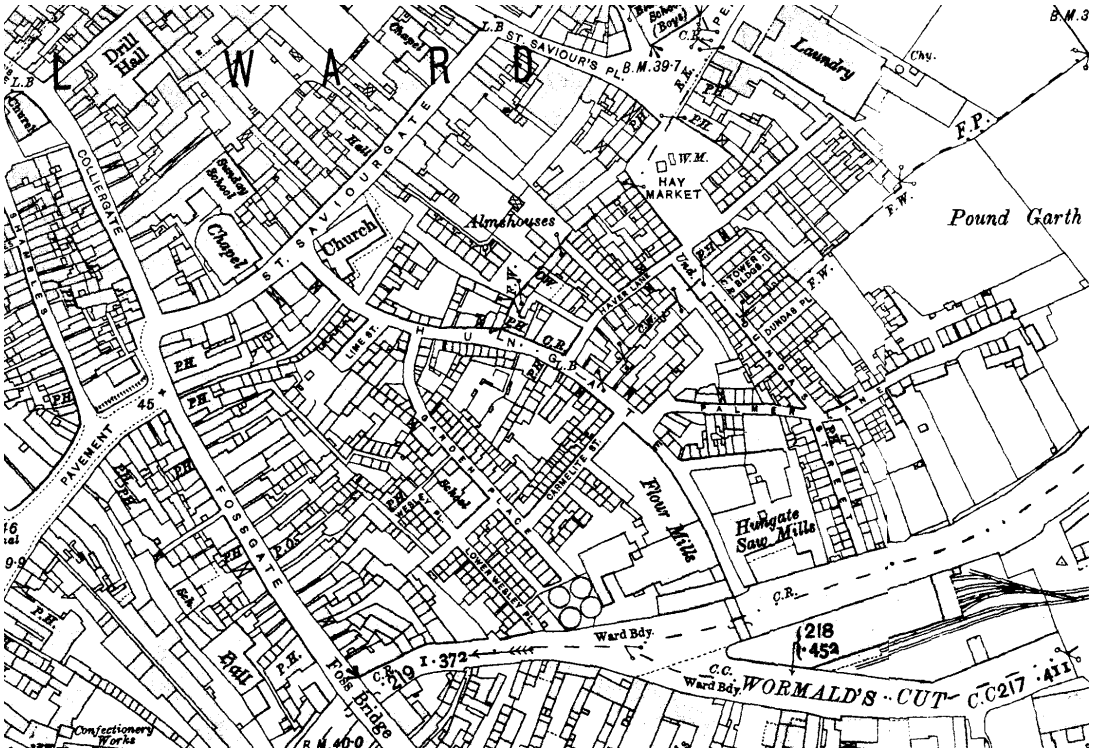

Figure 5.2: Map of Hungate, York. 1st revision (1894-1915) county series 1:2500

5.2.1 History of housing in York

Unlike larger cities like Glasgow and Liverpool, York is a provincial town and did not experience the same population boom or the same scale of industry. The railway and confectionary manufacture in York did result in a population influx at the start of the nineteenth century and houses were constructed in areas not favoured for housing previously, such as Hungate, to meet the demand. The built environment of York is a mixture of structures from a range of historic periods. The impact of industrialisation of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be difficult to detect (Rimmer 2011). Certainly, within the city walls York is home to a mixture of housing from different periods.

Perhaps one of the most significant features of Hungate lies in its connection to Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree, a social scientist who carried out a study of York which was published in 1901. Rowntree states “My object in undertaking the

investigation detailed in this volume was, if possible, to throw some light upon the conditions which govern the life of the wage-earning classes in provincial towns, and especially upon the problem of poverty." (Rowntree 1901, 17). In his opinion the conditions of life in his native city of York were not exceptional so can "…be taken as fairly representative of the conditions existing in many, if not most, of our provincial towns." (Rowntree 1901, 18). The study raised the profile of housing conditions outside of London where previous studies had already focussed their attentions. Rowntree carried out what he described as a detailed investigation into the social and economic conditions of the wage-earning classes in York to establish the true measure and cause of poverty in York. The study was conducted in the autumn of 1899 and found that York had 11,560 families living in 388 streets with a population figure of 46,754. The poorest section comprising Walmgate and Hungate had 1642 families comprising 6803 people with 69.3 per cent of these living in poverty (Rowntree 1901).

Owing to the results of this research Rowntree divided the population of York into two classes, primary poverty, where the household income was not sufficient to take care of the family, and secondary poverty, where the income the household earned was sufficient to take care of the family but that the household spent money on wasteful extras. Referring to districts within the city's medieval walls Rowntree stated "Hungate, one of the main slum districts in York, is situated in this portion of the city." (Rowntree 1901, 25) and that a number of sunless courts and alleys branch off the main streets and this is where the poverty is mainly found. Hungate was situated in a section of the city which Rowntree classified as the poorest neighbourhood comprising some typical slum areas. Hungate as a neighbourhood of poor quality accommodation was not a newly acknowledged opinion as in 1818 Hargrove (1818) commented poverty was present among its inhabitants and in 1844 the Royal Commission for Inquiries into the State of Large Towns and Populous Districts noted that Hungate was a district with the worst housing in the City of York. The Public Health Act of 1848 was applied to York in May 1950 and regulated house construction, drainage and health issues. However, Rowntree did not simply report that Hungate had poor quality housing, he referred to it as a slum, introducing a loaded term which implied much about the nature of the people who inhabited the area. In May 1850 York Corporation voted to apply the 1848 Public Health Act and established a Sanitary Committee who regulated house construction, inserted new sewers and inserted flushable toilets into the existing cesspits. When Hungate was

demolished, residents were moved to newly built council estates outside the city walls, particularly to Tang Hall and Clifton.

5.2.2 History of housing in Hungate

Figure 5.3: Image showing houses 12-32 Garden Place taken in 1933 by York Health Department

Hungate lies on the eastern side of the City of York, within the medieval walls, on a bend in the River Foss which is prone to regular flooding. The parish, within the city walls, included Hungate, St Saviourgate and Bedern, a mix of housing types, sizes and quality. The excavations carried out by York Archaeological Trust and documentary sources show the site of Hungate was a lengthy history of occupation. Hungate is referred to as Hungat in Mersch in an 1161 document which is interpreted as the street of the dogs in the marsh suggesting the area was used for the keeping of dogs for hunting and was largely unoccupied marsh land at that time (Connelly 2010; Evans 2004; Giles and Rees Jones 2011). It continued to be un-developed land until 1409 when Hungate had derelict properties, perhaps reflecting

a long tradition of poverty in the area (Evans 2004), and land was owned by St Leonard's Hospital. Rees Jones (Giles and Rees Jones 2011) identified Hungate's poverty relative to the rest of the city as the parish had consistently paid the lowest tax contribution. For example, in 1672 the parish was 46% exempt from tax compared to the rest of York at 25%. By 1754 hounds for hunting were kennelled in the street and the area had allotments and gardens (Evans 2004). During the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century Hungate was dominated by industry such as the gasworks, warehouses and large-scale flour milling and included a range of houses, some of a limited size and quality which were later to become labelled as slums by Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree (1901).

5.3 The housing experience

Excavation of the Hungate site was an archaeological project that began in the autumn of 2006 as a joint venture between York Archaeological Trust (YAT) and Hungate (York) Regeneration Limited with the aim to carry out a re-development plan which would turn the disused space within the city's medieval walls into a neighbourhood of contemporary town houses. Much of the documentary research for Hungate was carried out as part of the archaeological work. The oral history project was conducted by York Oral History Society (YOHS) volunteers in 1993 as part of the St Saviourgate Research Project. There was a continued assumption the area was a slum without consulting the former residents of the area, until the oral history project in 1993. The oral history project was an opportunity to consult the former residents of Hungate,

Element of the housing experience	**Archaeological record**	**Archaeology built heritage**	**Oral History**	**Documentary**
Quality of construction, neglect of repairs	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Building	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes

materials				
Layout	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Windows (light)	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Conditions, dampness, temperature	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Room use	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Amenities in dwelling, fixtures and fittings	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Size of property	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Room dimensions	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Overcrowding, frequency of occupation, sleeping arrangements	No	N/a	Yes	Yes
Sanitation, washing, toilets	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Water supply	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Drainage, waste removal	Yes	N/a	Potentially	Yes
Decoration (lime wash, plaster, flooring)	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Shared amenities	No	N/a	Yes	Yes
Ventilation	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes

Wider neighbourhood	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Sense of community	No	N/a	Yes	No

Figure 5.2: Table showing the predicted survival of the housing experience in Hungate, York

5.3.1 Documentary

There is an abundance of documentary evidence available for the Hungate area and some for specific streets and much of this was uncovered as part of the desk-based research carried out as part of the archaeological work and woven into the archaeological reports. Hunter-Mann (2008a) warns that the documents available need to be interpreted with the same care as archaeology.

Figure 5.4: Image of Garden Place, unknown date, showing the silo of Leetham's Mill and the width of the streets

The 1727 Cossin's map gives a general overview of the area at the start of the eighteenth century. The 1822 Baines map shows Dundas Street and the 1852 OS map shows Hungate as a fully developed residential area. There is also an OS map from 1909 and an architect's plan of 25 Palmer Lane from 1891 which showed a substantial sized property with four bedrooms (Hunter-Mann 2008a).

A poverty survey was conducted by the social scientist and philanthropist Benjamin Seebohn Rowntree (1901). This survey raised the profile of housing conditions outside of London and is responsible for labelling the community of Hungate as a slum with slum characteristics. "Though not large in extent, it is still large enough to exhibit the chief characteristics of slum life-the reckless expenditure of money as soon as it is obtained, with the aggravated want at other times; the rowdy Saturday night, the Monday morning pilgrimage to the pawnshop, and especially that love for the district, and disinclination to move to better surroundings, which, combined with an indifference to the higher aims of life…" (Rowntree 1901, 25).

Rowntree (1901) divided the working class of York into three categories. Class one was well-to-do artisans (12% of working class), people who lived in the newer parts of town where streets were wide (30-35 ft), houses had frontages of 15-17 ft behind railings, with bay windows, three bedrooms, some ornamentation and scullery for washing in addition to living room. Class two had modest but regular wages (62% of working class) and lived in narrower streets in houses that were a smaller version of class one, without front garden and bay window. Their houses had smaller rooms, two bedrooms, the scullery was a lean-to, with privies rather than water closets. Many of these were still being built in 1900 within the city walls and Rowntree concluded they were destined to become slums. Class three represented 26% of working class They lived in houses built before by-law control such as one-up-one-down houses that had become slums where residents shared taps and midden privies. Rowntree identified the majority of houses were dirty and dilapidated with broken windows and damp walls. The majority of houses within Hungate were within the class three category. The 1890 Housing of the Working Classes Act gave local authorities the responsibility to improve housing. In 1907-8 the York Board of Health surveyed Hungate and found many houses unfit for human habitation under the Housing of the Working Classes Act 1890, 201 houses as unhealthy (Hunter-Mann

2008a). Additional surveys were carried out in 1936-7 and the demolishment of Hungate began soon after. Pete Connelly (2018) identified a series of official and personal correspondence relating to both the slum clearance activities carried out by York Council and the feelings of residents. A letter dated 24th April 1933 from the Town Clerk to the Medical Officer of Health refers to the timetable of the clearance of slums in York and a letter dated 14th August 1933 from the Chief Sanitary Inspector to the York Gas Company mentions Hungate being dealt with under the Housing Act of 1930. In 1933 a survey of Hungate was carried out, and an additional survey carried out in 1935, intended to implement compulsory purchase orders. The letters from residents of areas identified as slums, including Hungate, include requests to be moved quickly but also some objections to the compulsory purchase orders. The demolition of Hungate took place in 1937 and 1938.

Rimmer (Hunter-Mann 2008a) identified that in 1912 the York Medical Officer of Health reported on 16-19 Dundas Street and 19 Palmer Lane which were all owned by the same person. They were reported as being closed-in, ill lighted, with small windows, three water closets for five houses, defective roofs, defective floors, the windows didn't open properly, the external walls were damp, there were no proper ashcans and no food storage. In 1913 the Town Clerk ordered these houses plus houses in Brunswick Place, Carmelite Street, Cross Wesley Place, Dundas Street, Garden Place, Haver Lane, Haymarket, Hungate, Leadley's Yard, St John's Place and Wesley Place as unfit for human habitation. Six houses in Lower Dundas Street needed the following to make them habitable; replace the floors, repair woodwork, doors, ceilings, plasterwork, fireplaces and staircases. The privies were to be replaced with water closets and the drains needed to be made smoke tight. All walls and roofs were to be repointed. Wilson (2007) notes that it was only after the First World War that the process of improvement accelerated. Even houses in St Saviourgate, a much wealthier neighbourhood, were required to be demolished.

Using Jayne Rimmer's (Hunter-Mann 2008a; Rimmer 2011) illuminating documentary research to create micro-histories of various plots within Hungate, it is evident that Hungate's building developments show a commitment to improving both the function and living conditions of houses and provide a new perspective to the neighbourhood. Using both historical documents and the physical archaeological

remains examples can be identified of extensions and improvements within the houses of Hungate.

Figure 5.5: Image of Garden Place in the mid 1930's prior to its demolition in 1936

The Arthur family are an example of how Hungate was an investment opportunity as they purchased a number of plots for building in the early nineteenth century and constructed cottages, terraces and public houses in Hungate. The family also resided in Hungate over several generations, evidence that wealthier families resided in Hungate, despite Hungate later gaining status as the poorest section of York and a slum neighbourhood. Here is evidence of hardworking developers and businessmen providing for their families and earning a wage that allowed them to keep a servant (Hunter-Mann 2008a; Rimmer 2011). There is evidence that landlords and residents adapted their built environment to better suit their needs. For example, a plot of land to the east corner of Dundas Street and Palmer Lane was excavated and showed a number of phases of rebuilding. Rimmer (Hunter-Mann 2008a; Rimmer 2011) conducted documentary research to identify these phrases of rebuilding in the historic record. In 1815 the plot was purchased by William Waind who developed the open ground by constructing a row of three one-up-one-down houses (20-22 Dundas Street). A further house of two rooms and a central corridor was constructed in a yard to the rear of the 20-22 Dundas street properties. In 1831 another builder constructed two rows of small houses (19-29 Palmer Lane and 16-19 Dundas Street). Following their construction, several structural alterations were made to 20-22 Dundas Street. An open passageway was introduced within the ground floor of 22 Dundas Street by removing brickwork which provided direct access to the rear of the plot but reduced the ground floor space of this small house. During the same period that the passageway was constructed, single-storey lean-tos were constructed out of brick on stone foundations and built against the rear walls of 21-22 Dundas Street. Boundary walls were created to form formal backyards to the properties and brick-lined cess-pits were provided for the properties. A second phase of construction occurred in 1887 in what is referred to as Waudby's yard. The large house (25 Palmer Lane) to the rear of the plot where William Waind resided was structurally altered by new owner William Henry Waudby so that it had five larger ground floor rooms.

Connelly (2018) uncovered some of the Compulsory Purchase Orders for Hungate properties dated to 1935-36 (YCA Acc 157, 9.3, 10.3). One, for a property in St Johns Place, provides evidence of the housing experience; the room of the front bedroom was 102st fp, the back bedroom 79st, the kitchen 127sf fp and the scullery 69sf fp. It was noted the brickwork was badly bulged with bricks missing in places,

sagged roof tiles with cement concrete floors on the ground floor. The plaster was damp with the house experiencing rising damp with through ventilation and fair lighting. The rear, paved with cement concrete, was three feet, six inches to the water closet which was a Duckett water-closet, in working order but foul smelling. The house had an internal water supply, a tap over a scullery sink. The house was noted to be verminous with bugs.

5.3.2 The archaeology of Hungate

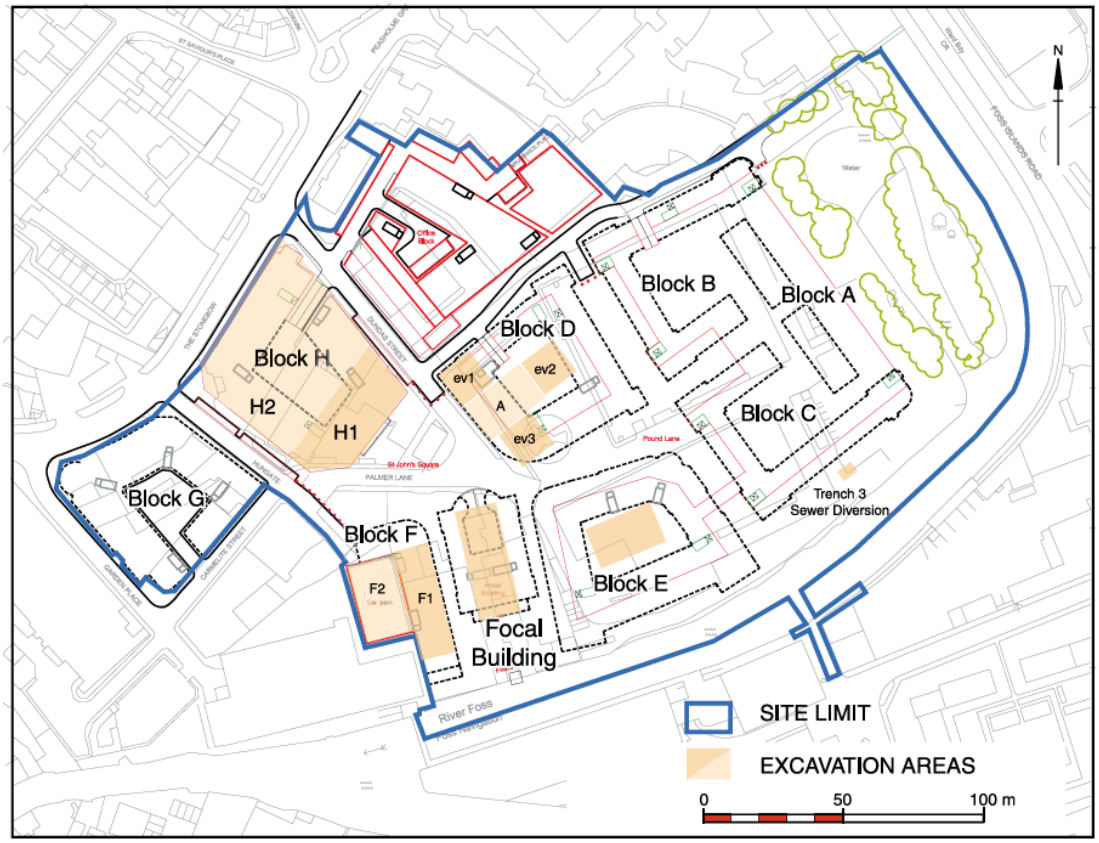

Figure 5.6: Plan showing the trenches of Dig Hungate, York Archaeological Trust

Excavation block	Date excavated	Archaeological features
Sewer shaft diversion trenches	October 2006-January 2007	Previously the medieval King's Pool
Watching brief-lift shaft excavations and pre-piling probes in blocks A, B, C	November 2006-April 2007	This offered an investigative method of exploring the historic landscape in areas that wouldn't be excavated. It showed deposits of formal gardens and orchards of the seventeenth century. No structural remains of Palmer Lane found.
Block E	January 2007-August 2007	Nineteenth century back gardens for houses on Palmer Lane and Lower Dundas Street. Included well preserved block of five Duckett Tipper Flush system toilets
Block D	January 2007-August 2006	Outbuildings
Block D4	August 2007-October 2007	Early nineteenth century brick houses with rear cess pits on Dundas Street and Dundas Place plus a two-up, two-down dwelling in Waudby's Yard
Focal building	October 2007-December 2007	York Union Gas Light Company gas works from 1837-1850. The site was purchased by and turned

		into Bellerby's Sawmill. Excavated parts of the main building, yards, road and outbuildings
Block F	February 2009	Bellerby's Sawmill and Leetham's Flour Mill
Block H1	January 2007-December 2008	Medieval graveyard
Block H2	January 2009-ongoing	Housing of Haver Lane, Dundas Street and Hungate

Table 5.3: Table showing the contents of each excavation block of Dig Hungate

Dig Hungate, the excavation of six development blocks over a five-year period, was the largest excavation to be carried out in York since the Jorvik excavations in the 1970's, also carried out by York Archaeological Trust (YAT). The archaeological work was funded by Hungate (York) Regeneration Ltd, a joint venture between Crosby Lend Lease, Evans Property Group and Land Securities Group Plc, as part of the work to create a new urban Hungate neighbourhood. In addition to the excavations there was a programme of public participation in the form of outreach, training digs, open days, site tours, community excavation, display and a website. Among the aims of the archaeological study was to identify and record any surviving buried remains of nineteenth century housing belonging to a class identified by Rowntree in 1901 as the poorest, to study the changing ways of life and living conditions.

Archaeologists used the YAT (2005) fieldwork manual and a single context recording system with all finds retained. The excavation was split into various blocks which roughly equate to; block A, B and C (Evans 2007a, Evans 2007b, Salcedo 2007) were formally Palmer Lane (Pound Lane) and Pound Garth, block D (Antoni 2007; Evans 2007c; Hunter-Mann 2008a; Milstead 2008) was formally Dundas Place and part of Dundas Street, block E (Hunter-Mann 2008b) was formally Dundas Street, block F was formally flour mills, block G was formally Carmelite

Street (not yet excavated) and Block H was formally the housing of Haver Lane, Dundas Street and Hungate. There was an earlier excavation of the land adjacent to St Saviour's Church in Hungate (Evans 2004) which provides additional evidence of the wider Hungate area and a desk-based assessment carried out on Hungate by YAT in 1999 (Macnab 1999).

What remained of the housing to be excavated and recorded is as follows. In block's A, B and C no structural remains of the former Palmer Lane (previously Pound Lane) houses remained with archaeologists concluding that the construction works for Northern Electric and the housing clearances of the 1930's as responsible for this. During the evaluation of Block D, formally Dundas Place and part of Dundas Street, it was found that little remained of the housing apart from some isolated walls and the drainage system. The later excavation found brick houses dated to the second half of the nineteenth century, cess pits and backyards. Considerable works was done recording, evaluating and carrying out documentary research for block D. Block E contained the remains of nineteenth and twentieth century housing and associated sanitation and drainage features. Block F is not relevant for the study of housing. Block G has yet to be excavated and block H will have the results go straight into a book about Hungate.

Excavations aimed to take a reflective approach to address the narrative of Hungate "…every completed element of the phased approach fed into the next chapter of the work and enabled the Hungate team to adapt and change their attitudes to the archaeology while the excavation was still live." (Connelly 2011, 609). The excavator's intentions therefore were not a crusade to prove Rowntree's assessments incorrect, but an opportunity to address the physical evidence without personal or historical opinions to perpetuate the Hungate slum myth. Hungate provided "…the opportunity to re-address official historical narratives." (Connelly 2011, 607) with the opportunity to collate interdisciplinary plot histories. A central excavation area known as block H measured over 50m squared was excavated continuously over the five-year period due to the depth of stratigraphy, some 3m with evidence of 2000 years of continuous land use. A further five blocks would be excavated throughout the five-year period at certain times "…allowing time for evaluation and reflection before the next phase started." (Connelly 2011, 610). The relationship with the archaeology at Hungate was given the opportunity to develop

over time "…allowing for new ideas to challenge the traditional narratives of the Hungate area." (Connelly 2011, 610).

The author had the pleasure of visiting the Hungate excavations, with thanks to Pete Connelly and Dr Jayne Rimmer of York Archaeological Trust, to view the back rooms, yards and tipper flush toilets on Carmelite Street excavated as part of an *Archaeology Live!* training dig. Students from the University of Liverpool did take part in the excavations as part of their archaeological training. What follows is based on site reports made available online by YAT, sent to the author by Pete Connelly and papers published as a result of a symposium on the archaeology of Hungate held in 2009.

Building materials and amenities of houses

The houses of Hungate were brick walls on stone foundations with welsh roof slate and sandstone paving slabs. Houses in Dundas Place were two-up, two-down with one dwelling in Waudby's Yard two-up, two-down and later extended creating a much more substantial house (25 Palmer Lane). This property, at the end of the nineteenth century, had a fireplace added with a glazed white tile hearth and brick dwarf walls suggest the room had a sprung wooden floor (Hunter-Mann 2008a). The remaining floors were four-inch square red and black ceramic tiles in a chequerboard pattern (fig. 5.8).

Bricks that were sixteenth-eighteenth century were mostly made using a slop moulding technique and many were noted to be of poor quality, badly cracked or badly fired and likely to have been dried outdoors rather than in sheds, similarly the eighteenth-twentieth century bricks were badly cracked or fired (Hunter-Mann 2008a). The removal of the remains of 1 St Johns Place and 9 Haver Lane uncovered late eighteenth to nineteenth century buildings on earlier foundations.

Size of property and number of people occupying it

Although there was a mix of housing in Hungate, typically the houses were either one-up, one-down or two-up, two-down and back-to-back. The two-up, two-down houses had a kitchen and scullery. Occupation and overcrowding cannot be determined from the archaeological record however Jayne Rimmer (Evans 2007c)

conducted thorough plot histories for the houses in block D, specifically those of Dundas Street, Haver Lane, Palmer Lane as part of the archaeological work.

Sanitation and drainage

Excavations in what was Dundas Street show the houses had cess pits with the later addition of ceramic drainpipes, lead water pipes and flushing toilets which were dated to the early twentieth century. The cess pits were in-filled and small brick cubicles erected to create cubicles for water closets. The toilets were slop water closet or Tipper Flush by Ducketts. The sewage collected in the base of the system, which was flushed by the accumulation of rain water once the ceramic cisterns were full. The ceramic pipes led to a ceramic sewer pipe in the main streets.

Figure 5.7: Image of Duckett's toilets, from report 2008/2, plate 7, page 111, York Archaeological Trust

A mid-nineteenth century to early twentieth century communal toilet block of five closets, uncovered in block E of the excavations located to the east of Lower Dundas Street within Dundas Court provides evidence of sanitation and drainage facilities at Hungate.

Internal flooring was concrete tiles or horizontally laid bricks. The exception was 25 Palmer Lane where a re-build resulted in the property having an increased number of larger rooms with dwarf walls suggesting a wooden sprung floor and other rooms which had attractive red and black floor tiles (fig. 5.8).

Figure 5.8: Image showing the floor tiles in 25 Palmer Lane, from report 2008/1, plate 21, page 114, York Archaeological Trust

Yard and neighbourhood facilities

The block F excavations focussed on the flour mills in Hungate and the Focal Buildings block on the York Union Gas Light Company which later became Bellarby's Sawmill which was demolished as part of the areas clearance in the 1930's (Milstead 2008). The excavations show that the Hungate area was dominated by industry, particularly flour milling. Block G, not yet professionally excavated, will focus on the truncated backyards and back spaces of Carmelite Street.

5.3.3 The oral history of Hungate

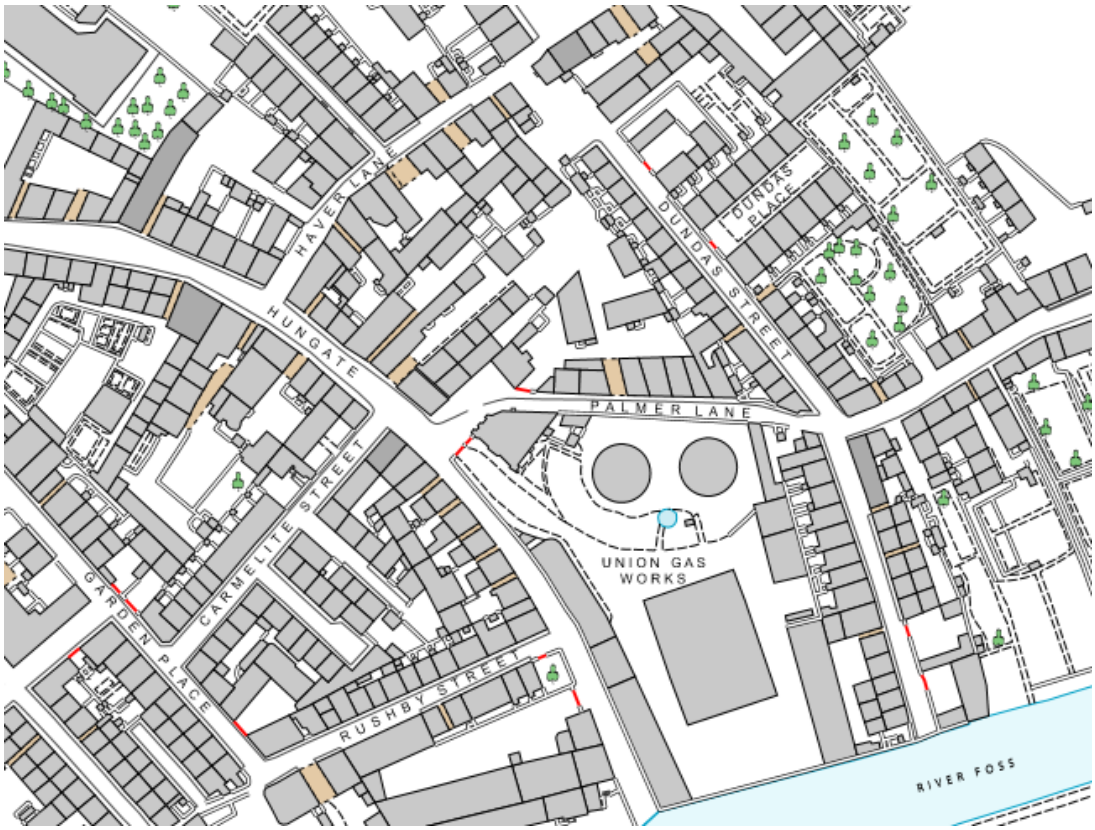

Figure 5.9: Digitised OS map, 1852, of Hungate, from report 2008/1, figure 16, page 132, York Archaeological Trust

The oral history interviews with former residents of Hungate were conducted by York Oral History Society (YOHS) volunteers in 1993 as part of the St Saviourgate Research Project. When this research began the oral histories of former Hungate residents were housed within York Library which was closed to the public and undergoing redevelopment. What was available was a book; *Rich in all but money: life in Hungate 1900-1938* written by Van Wilson (2007), who is volunteer supervisor at YOHS. In the book (Wilson 2007), written for the public on life in Hungate, including leisure, work, housing, there is and a large amount of direct quotations from the interviewees, particularly regarding the housing experience. This was useful in the development of the research however it was imperative the original interviews were accessed directly. The book written by Wilson (2007) was first published in 1996 from oral histories collected as part of a joint venture between

Archaeological Resource Centre, located in St Saviour's Church, St Saviourgate, and York Oral History Society (YOHS) to collect memories of St Saviour's parish. Former residents were invited to a public open day to share memories and those interested in contributing more detailed oral histories were interviewed in their home by volunteers. Ten years later York Archaeological Trust (YAT) began a five-year excavation on the site of Hungate as a result of the area being developed commercially, ironically for luxury flats. The work involved public activities, training and community involvement. It was hoped that further interviews could be carried out with people who worked in the area after 1938. A revised edition of the book was published in 2007 to coincide with the excavation of Hungate although it is unclear if any additional narrators came forward or took part because of the excavations.

Of the twenty-three narrators the YOHS repository advised existed, two named individuals are repeated twice. Within the book (Wilson 2007) an interviewee, VT, was quoted but they were not included in the list of the twenty-three interviews provided to the author. Of the twenty-three individuals two interviews involved a pair or couple and two individuals appeared on the list twice. Of the twenty-three narrators eleven were men and twelve were women. Of the seventeen interviews prioritised as most relevant to this research, nineteen individuals, nine were men and ten were women with two of the interviews involved pairs of narrators.

Number	Green	Amber	Red
1	EC		
2	JB		
3	DR		
4	GS		
5		AW	
6		AB	
7		BF	
8		LK	
9		WH	
10			LA
11			RS
12			JH and LH
13			MG
14			JC
15			IT and CF
16			RD
17			HB

Table 5.4: Table showing the approach to listening to the interviews

Name	Dates memories of court housing span from	Age at time of interview (DOB)	Reason for moving	Hungate address	How contacted project	Date of interview	Location of interview
JH	1911-unknown	26.11.1911	Unknown	Broom's Court	Unknown	1993	Unknown
LH	1912-unknown	04.09.1912	Unknown	4 Sawmill Lane	Unknown	1993	Unknown
JC	unknown	1910	Unknown	St Saviourgate	Unknown	1993	Unknown
IT	1926-unknown	1926	Unknown	1 Stonebow Lane	Unknown	1993	Unknown
CF	1928-unknown	1928	Unknown	1 Stonebow Lane	Unknown	1993	Unknown
MG	1909-unknown	1909	Unknown	4 Spen Lane from birth, Spen House in St Saviourgate from aged 16	Unknown	1993	Unknown
AW	1921-unknown	05.11.1921	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	1993	Unknown
JB	1911-	1911	Unknown	29 St Saviourgat	Unknown	1993	Unknow

	unknown			e			n
AB	1906-unknown	1906	Unknown	Garden Place	Unknown	1993	Unknown
RD	1925-unknown	28.08.1925	Unknown	St Andrew Gate	Unknown	1993	Unknown
NF	1918-1935	1918	Relocated due to clearances	Dundas Street	Unknown	1993	Unknown
LK	1925-unknown	1925	Unknown	St John's Place	Unknown	1993	Unknown
DR	Unknown	1903	Unknown	18 St Saviourgate	Unknown	1993	Unknown
EW	Unknown	1901	Unknown	Duke of York Street	Unknown	1993	Unknown
RS	1911-unknown	1911	Unknown	Black Swan, Peasholme Green (moved to Woolpack Inn)	Unknown	1993	Unknown
LA	1919-unknown	1919	Unknown	93 Webster's Passage	Unknown	1993	Unknown
ST	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	1993	Unknown
DC	1925-1933	1920	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	1993	Unknown
VL	1940's-1960's	Unknown	Unknown	34 St Saviourgate	Unknown	1993	Unknown
GS	1925-	12.07.	Unknown	20 Haver Lane, 8	Unknown	1993	Unknow

	unknown	1925		Haver Lane, Carmelite Street			n
HB	Unknown	1920	Unknown	Garden Place	Unknown	1993	Unknown
EC	From birth	Unknown	Unknown	14 St John's Place	Unknown	1993	Unknown
WH	1925-unknown	18.01.1925	Unknown	Dundas Street	Unknown	1993	Unknown
VT	From 6 months-unknown	1906	Unknown	Leeds Arms	Unknown	1993	Unknown

Table 5.5: Table showing the narrators of the St Saviourgate oral history project

NF described Hungate as "It had its own personality". The parish, within the city walls, included Hungate, St Saviourgate and Bedern, a mix of housing types, sizes and quality. Hungate was situated on the banks of the River Foss in a built-up area that was a mix of housing and industry, for example Leetham's Mill, slaughterhouses, stables and a coal yard. Both the River Ouse and the River Foss are prone to regular flooding. Hungate was within the flood zone of the River Foss and experienced regular floods. This made the houses damp and attracted water voles and rats. AB commented the water was high enough to get into the houses. NF shared that one positive of the floods was free coal that was washed from Walker's Coal Yard on Layerthorpe Bridge to Hungate.

NF described Hungate as self-contained, like a warren and by JB as an area of rundown houses. GS described the area as gloomy and the houses as small with living conditions as very bare. He said life was hard in the 1930's and that it was grey and drab in the streets. IT described Hungate as a place with winding streets, lots of little houses and big families. Within the parish, the housing was mixed; tenement flats and landings with a shared staircase that RD described as "down and

out". Each flat had seven or eight residents, two rooms and residents were poor and out of work. Hungate itself also had a variety of types of housing and AB said that Hungate was all rented and she did not think anyone owned their own house. EC's sister lived in a one roomed garret whereas EC was born in St John's Place, off Haver Lane, in a "two-up, two-down". In St Saviourgate, where Dr R lived, the houses were bigger than those in Hungate. Carmelite Street in Hungate was known locally as "brass rapper row" as the houses all had brass rappers on their doors. Bedern was described by DR as having "little cottages" each belonging to the same owner, an Alderman. These cottages shared a water pump in a shared yard and were described as "absolutely terrible". JC lived in St Saviourgate in a house that formed a block of four with attics and cellars.

RS describes parts of Hungate in more detail; off Haymarket was a square of houses which went around into Brunswick Terrace, a "big square" with twelves houses sharing a yard and six toilets at the very end. Haver Lane was "a very narrow little street" with a "tiny footpath" either side where children played. JW lived in St Saviourgate and said his was a big house, "decent" when compared with the houses of Hungate. It was three stories high with a cellar that was used as a coal cellar, the kitchen was large and had a boiler and open fire, gas and electricity from 1958. Houses in Hungate were demolished from 1933 to 1938 and residents were rehoused. Stonebow was built in 1960 and this cut Hungate in two. While the exact reason for the narrators moving from Hungate is unknown for many, it is likely to be a result of the clearances.

Building material and amenities of houses

Hungate had a variety of different housing styles but primarily back-to-back in the style of one-up, one-down or two-up, two-down, accessed directly from the street by a front door with no rear entrance. Some of the houses were inhabited by one family and some were split into separate rented units, for example EC had a sister who lived in a single garret room. LA said, "There was some nice houses". The houses were described as "little" by AB although she said there were a few "biggish" houses. LA said her family was "exceptionally lucky" to have such a big house and that the houses had plenty of room but no facilities except the coal fire.

NF described some of the “squares” in Hungate, houses surrounding a centre shared yard with a water tap, such as Dundas Place and Garden Place.

EC was born in a two-up, two-down house in St John’s Place off Haver Lane which had a front room and a back kitchen, a staircase that led to two bedrooms. LK also lived in a two-up, two-down house as did JH who had a small rear yard and later moved into a house that was two, two-up, two-downs knocked into one. This resulted in a house with four bedrooms and a larger yard, larger still as a number of the houses in the area had been demolished leaving much free land. The family remained as much of Hungate had been demolished. JB said Dundas street had “cottages” that had a front room, kitchen and two bedrooms with a small rear yard that connected to a narrow street. Kendal’s passage also had “cottages” according to DR. GS lived in Carmelite Street, “Brass Rapper Row”, in a back-to-back terraced house that was three stories high. Houses on Haver Lane were one-up, one-down. The one-up, one-down houses included stairs in the downstairs room that led up to a landing with a window and a bedroom. AB’s family lived in a two-room property in the top floor of three stories.

Of all the Hungate interviews only one, JB, touched on the building materials of the Hungate houses. JB’s family ran a building company and was able to recall the types of bricks, cobbled streets, that the back lanes were paved in scoria blocks. He said the houses were built of clamp bricks, a standard nineteenth century brick type used in low cost housing but that “oddly enough they were extremely good bricks”. He continued “It’s interesting however that the better clamp bricks, er, show hardly any wear on the surface”.

Typical fixtures and fittings included a fireplace, a large range with a spit over which the family cooked. AB recalled the range as a “lovely, big York range” with a steel fender. She also recalled her house had a gas stove which was used only in summer when her mother didn’t want to put the fire on. JH had a gas cooker in the kitchen whereas LK had a coal fire in the front room and gas lighting. AW describes similar, a fireplace with mantle and gas lighting. He recalls that they couldn’t always afford a mantle. LA had a coal fire which was used for cooking-it had bars in the middle used as a spit and a ledge on one side for pans. NF had a big fireplace with a mantle in a front “living” room with a stainless-steel fender and a “tidy betty” which

was used in front on the fire, so the ashes couldn't come out of the hearth. She recalled the family eventually had a gas cooker. AW said the houses were poorly lit upstairs whereas LK recalls having gas lighting upstairs and downstairs. GS said there was no gas lighting in Haver Lane when he was born in 1925.

NF shared that the windows had shutters that were pegged back during the day and used to cover the windows at night. Narrators recalled that there were no carpets in the houses although some, GS, had "pricked" rugs. AB also recalls having pricked carpets over a concrete floor. NF recalls having wallpaper and varnished furniture and that her house was "spotless". AW said that if you had wallpaper you were lucky as it held the house up and kept you warm. GS recalls only having one fire in the house and so during the night it was very cold despite the extra blankets. AB suggested otherwise, that her house was always warm and that there were no drafts in those houses. Hungate houses were described by several narrators as being damp, as a result of being within an area prone to regular flooding.

Figure 5.10: Image showing flooding in Lower Wesley Place in February 1933

AW describes access as being through the front and straight off the street and into the front room. DC had a front room purposed as a parlour and used on special

occasions. LA lived in Webster's Passage and had only front access to the house with two rooms downstairs, a front living room and a rear room for cooking.

Size of property and number of people occupying it

The majority of the Hungate houses are described as two-up, two-down with the front room used as a parlour in some houses. IT recalls differently, that nearly all of the houses were one-up, one-down therefore one bedroom although she adds that you were "lucky" if you had two bedrooms. RD's brother lived on Brunswick Place had had a two-up, two-down. The houses in Hungate were described as small by JH but says that some of them were little palaces. RS, referring to Haver Lane, recalls the houses were overcrowded and children would spend most of their time outside because the houses were too small for them. AB concurs with this opinion, that Hungate was overcrowded. In her house, there were ten family members living there, with two bedrooms separated by using curtains as a partition. MG lived in a two-bedroomed house in Spen Lane with four siblings and her mother. The four girls slept in one room, the "lad" in the other bedroom and her mother on the sofa. NF had one living room and one "little" kitchen on Dundas Street.

JH had six siblings, but his father was absent from the household after being killed in France in action during the First World War. They originally lived in a two-up, two-down but later lived in a house that was originally two knocked into one and so had four bedrooms. AW describes the rooms as small "they were small rooms, you couldn't swing a cat about in 'em." The stairs were used as extra seating space for children. However, LA felt differently and described her house, in Webster's Passage, as having plenty of room. EC was a family of eight which he described as average and that Hungate had a tremendous population in total. GS shared his house with two siblings, his parents and his grandfather. He slept with his grandfather in the front room while his parents and brothers slept in the bedroom. Their house was split and so a woman lived upstairs in the property. AB lived in a two-room flat on the third floor of a house and that the space was partitioned to provide a number of sleeping spaces. LK also shared her house with her grandparents. RS could recall a family of thirteen in a one-up-one-down in Haymarket. A number of narrators including AW and NF recalled sitting on the stairs to eat due to the lack of space. Narrators did not offer approximate dimensions of rooms.

Sanitation and drainage

EC recalled his house had a quarry tile floor. AB agreed, the floor in the downstairs of the house was stone, apart from the kitchen which was concrete, and the bedroom floors were also concrete. A number of narrators recalled “pricked” rugs used as a floor covering. The houses were subject to flooding which resulted in damp conditions with EC describing it as a “hardy annual” that brought filth from the river into the streets of Hungate with Dundas Street and Wesley Place being affected. JB recalls flooding in Carmelite Street, Palmer Lane and Lower Wesley Place. AB remembers the water being high enough to enter the houses. NF recalled the houses were damp. A number of narrators mentioned the smells of Hungate. LK said it was just something they put up with.

AB commented the passages were clean as a result of being “stoned” regularly and that there was no rubbish around, unlike today. HB agrees and comments that the floors were spotlessly clean because the women would scrub them on their hands and knees with carbolic soap and a brush. LK described using a block of limestone to scrub the steps. AB shared that everyone’s windows and curtains were clean. AW recalled disease as part of life in Hungate and blamed the wider neighbourhood, such as the slaughterhouse, as the reason why. JB agreed, that it was highly insanitary to have slaughterhouses in close proximity to houses, particularly in Garden Place. AW recalls the walls being painted with whitewash, which was pink rather than white, rather than wallpaper.

A number of narrators mentioned black beetles, fleas, nits and beetles. GS says the worst thing were the “blackclocks”, black beetles that appeared at night time and residents could smell them. JB, who lived in St Saviourgate, also recalled “blackclocks” which were rain beetles. He described them as being about an inch in length. MG recalls the family using paraffin on themselves to remove nits on a Friday night. GS said that the whole place was running with mice and that if you lit a match at night the whole floor was covered in “blackclocks” and that you could smell them. Water was boiled and filled a short bath for bathing with family members reusing the water. AW recalled smelling of carbolic soap and that people were always clean. NF describes a big pan being positioned over the fire to boil the washing-sheets and pillowcases. A number of narrators shared that people washed in a tin bath or in the river. GS recalls taking a bath once a week in a short bath with

a high back and the water was shared by all family members. ST recalls washing in the River Foss near to the pipe from the electricity works which warmed the water. EC recalled people being very clean and AW described Hungate people as “amazingly clean”. GS disagreed and shared that some people were filthy. Upon leaving Hungate EC and ST recalled belongings were fumigated in a mobile van.

The water was supplied by a cold tap either in the house, in the yard or from a shared water pump/standpipe. Many of the houses had a sink with running cold water including AB whose house had their own tap in the back kitchen, GS whose house on Haver Lane had a brown sink with a tap, whereas LK said around fifteen houses shared one tap. NF remembers a couple of taps in the middle of the backyard and everybody used to go out and get their water from there.

Toilets were located outside in brick sheds and were communal. A number of narrators recalled the toilets were “ducketts”. The toilets were housed in brick sheds with a number of cubicles in a line with torn up newspaper on string as toilet paper. NF said that although the toilets were small they decorated the cubicle to make it nicer. RD recalled his brother’s house sharing a toilet with ten other houses whereas RS recalls her family sharing six toilets with twelves houses. MG shared one toilet with two houses. LK recalls their landlord, a man who owned the coal yard, installed a water closet which was “unheard of” but that they shared it with fifteen houses.

Yard and neighbourhood facilities

The streets of Hungate were like a warren with no gardens or flowers and that everything was grey and dark GS recalled. Many of the houses did not have a rear entrance, some had a rear yard. AB said there were four gas lamps in Garden Place. Although Hungate was swept by road sweepers and by a water tank to keep the dust down, residents spent time scrubbing their steps and the pavement. LK recalled that residents scrubbed the area of pavement directly outside the front of your house, which was “your” responsibility. AB described the streets as always tidy, even the broken-up tarmac yard was regularly swept and stoned. LK agreed, she recalled that everything was cleaned including steps, window sills, flags and that you cleaned your own patch. LK recalls the yards being paved and the streets cobbled. The yard was described as slippery as a result of the soapy water being put down the drain. AW described the smell coming off the nearby river as smelling like

chickweed, a stagnant pond scent, plus the smell of manure from a neighbour's horses, the smell of the drains in summer, the slaughterhouses and smoke from the nearby gasworks. RD also recalled the smell of Hungate; sulphur, "an oxidey sulphury smell". He also recalled the smells from the slaughterhouses were the worst from the animals being slaughtered and boiled.

Within Hungate itself or within the parish there was; a coking yard, Walker's coal yard, three slaughter houses, one of which was in the yard of the Black Swan public house where RS lived with her family, an undertaker, a haymarket, a chickory yard, two laundries, and stables. Other trades within Hungate included; a pot man, an "odds and sods man", a ginger beer seller, a milkman, a muffin seller, a corner shop, a sweetshop, a butcher's, a fish and chip shop, five public houses, a barber, a corn merchant, three pawnbrokers. These industries were also a source of work for many Hungate residents; AW worked in one of the slaughter houses when he was fourteen, WH when he was nine or ten. EC worked in the York Sanitary Laundry after he left school.

EC said Hungate was a community with community spirit that didn't transfer when residents were relocated to new build houses. He said the community spirit was something you do not get today, that everyone mucked in and had a great respect for each other. GS recalls everyone sitting in the streets socialising in the summertime and shared that the people were civil and courteous, especially to older people. AB recalls a strong sense of community and can't recall anything bad happening there. She said that it isn't the place you live in but how you live in it. NF said that everyone helped everyone, that everyone knew who you were, and it was marvellous. She said she felt safe in Hungate and that she never felt alone there, that it would be better today if there were places like it. "You had to share what you had down Hungate. It was a community and it would be a damn sight better today if there was a few more like it." GS recalled "the people were very caring. They were very sociable. They used to sit out in chairs in the evening in the summertime in the street, either knitting or talking across the street…..it was a self-help community". NF said "It was marvellous. Everybody helped everybody else. If you lived in that area, I don't care where you went, anywhere in the world, I can honestly say, we looked after one another. It was a tough environment, but it wasn't a vicious environment compared to today's standard. ……You always felt safe. Always".

Several narrators recalled their childhood with games included playing with marbles, making catapults, skipping, swimming in the river, playing on Pound Garth, the children's playground that was originally proposed to be a bowling green on early maps, football, making scent with rose petals and water in a bottle, and jacks.

5.4 Discussion of findings

5.4.1 Survival

Element of the housing experience	**Archaeological record**	**Archaeology built heritage**	**Oral History**	**Documentary**
Quality of construction, neglect of repairs	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Building materials	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Layout	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Windows (light)	No	N/a	No	Yes
Conditions, dampness, temperature	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Room use	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Amenities in dwelling, fixtures and fittings	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Size of property	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Room dimensions	Yes	N/a	No	Yes

Overcrowding, frequency of occupation, sleeping arrangements	No	N/a	Yes	Yes
Sanitation, washing, toilets	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Water supply	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Drainage, waste removal	Yes	N/a	No	Yes
Decoration (lime wash, plaster, flooring)	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Shared amenities	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Ventilation	Yes	N/a	No	Yes
Wider neighbourhood	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Sense of community	No	N/a	Yes	No

Table 5.6: Table showing the actual survival of the housing experience for Hungate, York

5.4.2 The combined approach

Although there are no extant examples of Hungate housing there is the opportunity to compare the archaeological evidence with the earlier oral history evidence to challenge Rowntree and other forms of documentary material and provide a more authentic account of the housing experience. The combined approach proved particularly successful in a few key areas. There are a number of housing

experience themes that either complimented or contradicted within the bodies of evidence.

The Duckett's toilets were confirmed in both the documentary, archaeology and oral history sources. The 1935-36 Compulsory Purchase Order (YCA Acc 157, 9.3, 10.3) mentioned by Connelly (2018) notes the toilets for a property in St Johns Place, were housed in a cubicle that was three feet six inches and was a Duckett water-closet in working order but foul smelling. Earlier records from the 1907-8 York Board of Health survey of Hungate (Hunter-Mann 2008a) identifies households in Dundas Court and on Lower Dundas Street as having Duckett's Tipper Flush toilets, also known as a slop water closet. The excavations revealed Duckett's toilets where the cubicles were attached via a series of ceramic pipes leading to a central ceramic sewer pipe which lay under an alley way and these closets were found to have replaced earlier brick lined cess pits with no drainage which would have been cleared out by hand (Hunter-Mann 2008a). Several narrators recalled the toilets were "ducketts" (NF, RD, RS, LK). The toilets were housed in brick sheds with a number of cubicles in a line with torn up newspaper on string as toilet paper. NF said that although the toilets were small they decorated the cubicle to make it nicer. RD recalled his brother's house sharing a toilet with ten other houses whereas RS recalls her family sharing six toilets with twelves houses. MG shared one toilet with two houses. LK recalls their landlord, a man who owned the coal yard, installed a water closet which was "unheard of" but that they shared it with fifteen houses.

Insect infestation in some of the houses was confirmed in 1935-36 Compulsory Purchase Order (YCA Acc 157, 9.3, 10.3) where the house in St John's Place was described as verminous with bugs being the culprit (Connelly 2018). Narrators recalled black beetles, fleas, nits and beetles. GS says the worst thing were the "blackclocks", black beetles, that appeared at night time and residents could smell them. JB, who lived in St Saviourgate, also recalled "blackclocks" which were rain beetles. He described them as being about an inch in length. MG recalls the family using paraffin on themselves to remove nits on a Friday night. GS said that the whole place was running with mice and that if you lit a match at night the whole floor was covered in blackclocks and that you could smell them. Narrators also recalled fumigation vans being used to delouse furniture and belongings prior to their delivery to the new houses. Environmental samples identified remains tentatively

interpreted to be woodworm beetle sclerites and fly puparia, more commonly associated with structural timbers (Hunter-Mann 2008b). While some environmental remains were identified the types of insects mentioned in the oral histories are not immediately apparent in the archaeological record.

Where some of the housing experience themes can be confirmed by multiple sources they each contribute a different perspective. Some of the sources contradict for example, the bricks of the houses. Of all the Hungate oral history interviews only one, JB, touched on the building materials of the Hungate houses. JB's family ran a building company and was able to recall the types of bricks, cobbled streets, that the back lanes were paved in scoria blocks. He said the houses were built of clamp bricks, a standard nineteenth century brick type used in low cost housing but that "oddly enough they were extremely good bricks". He continued "It's interesting however that the better clamp bricks, er, show hardly any wear on the surface". This is contradicted in the archaeological record. Hunter-Mann (2008a) concludes the sixteenth to twentieth century bricks were all badly fired and badly cracked. 25 Palmer Lane had evidence of a major re-build which resulted in the property having an increased number of larger rooms with dwarf walls suggesting a wooden sprung floor and other rooms which had attractive red and black floor tiles. The documentary evidence for 25 Palmer Lane confirm the archaeology including an architect's plan from 1891 (Hunter-Mann 2008a) and Rimmer's (Hunter-Mann 2008a; Rimmer 2011) documentary research and extensive plot histories.

The contradictions between the archaeological record and oral history with Rowntree's (1901) comments about Hungate are intriguing. Rowntree (1901) is useful for what it does not include, the participation of the urban poor in general (Mayne 2011) and Hungate residents in particular. There is a lack of understanding about the viewpoints and opinions of the inhabitants of Hungate and a lack of investigation into why Hungate evolved the way it did. There is also a potential for errors in his methods such as the fact that Rowntree categorised poverty into spatially designated areas and did not acknowledge the variations of poverty within districts and Rubenstein (1974) considers Rowntree's data to be vague. What was "…largely misread by him were the traits of a resilient working class way of life; high levels of attachment to places condemned by outsiders as dehumanizing slums, high levels of reciprocal support and neighbourliness (albeit sometimes disturbed by

confrontation and backbiting), sensible adaptations of available private shelter and public space, high levels of enterprise and opportunism in generating income from multiple sources." (Mayne 2011, 560). Some of the oral history accounts support this. JW recalled "they did pull together, very close in Hungate. I think living in the close conditions that they were more communal, they helped each other a lot. I've travelled quite a lot since then, and I've only ever seen it in third world countries. I was wandering in the back streets of Calcutta, and I looked and thought 'Hungate'. It had the same communal feeling there as in Hungate in those bygone days. I'm not saying that life was good, the conditions that they were living under, they were certainly a lot better when they moved them out. But they lost a way of life once they split Hungate up".

However, some of the oral histories concur with Rowntree for example DR, the doctor's wife, lived in St Saviourgate and described the people of Hungate and Bedern as charming but said the poverty was appalling and that conditions were terrible. She said that today's poor people are rich compared with the poverty "in those days". Narrators recalled Dr R with affection and NF said that everyone loved Dr R because he didn't discriminate against Hungate residents. MF commented "Everybody loved him, he'd come down there to you….it didn't matter if you had 200 quid in your purse, or tuppence, you was his patient….no discriminating against you because you was out of Hungate". His wife, DR, said "The people themselves, I mean they were brave to suffer such poverty". It is worth noting that DR and Dr R lived outside of Hungate and they, like Rowntree, were outsiders to the Hungate community despite their non-discriminatory approach. DR, wife of the Hungate doctor, recalled her husband contributing to the 1930's report by Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree. DR is an interesting narrator as she lived in relative wealth outside of Hungate but within the same parish. The family owned land and her grandfather was one of the first people in York to own a car. Yet, when the area was cleared they also moved out to Tang Hall, the same as the residents of Hungate.

Poverty is subjective as AB demonstrates "I mean we were poor, but we weren't that poor that me mam couldn't feed us. And we were always clean. But as I say, nothing posh. But I think our days were better than they are today somehow". Many of the oral history narrators spoke about poverty or gave examples of going without. AB said some parts of Hungate were better off than others. Her family had nothing to

pawn and that she recalls periods of going without shoes. NF said her family were always poor but well fed. She recalls children waiting outside the slaughterhouse for free offal. LK recalls that they ate lots of vegetables but little meat. LA commented "we were poor". AB recalls her neighbour pawning items regularly but "me mam never pawned because we'd nothing to pawn.". The general consensus from the oral histories was that poverty meant they were all in the same situation which fostered community spirit, examples shared of the Dr, the Reverend, and the Band of Hope. AW "when you're living in poverty and hard times, you always have a feeling for your fellow man. This is why Hungate people, and Walmgate people and Layerthorpe, they're wonderful people. They'll give you anything. Anybody knocked at the door and wanted a cup of tea or something to eat, we'd share it with 'em straight away. This is Hungate people. That makes us so proud. Because we feel for others".

AW attributed the poverty in Hungate to the lack of employment opportunities and said "poor fellers, they used to run like hell, as fast as they could go to Foss Island to get a job. To earn summat. Don't get the idea the people were lazy. They weren't given the chance to work. There was no work." Rowntree identified the chief characteristics of slum life as the reckless expenditure of money as soon as it was obtained, the aggravated want at other times, the rowdy Saturday night, the Monday morning pilgrimage to the pawnshop, that love for the district and the disinclination to move to better surrounding. Certainly, the oral histories, at times, support Rowntree's conclusions about Hungate. GS's memories were heavily influenced by his experiences as a child. He recalled that Hungate residents spent all their money on alcohol, that the family had no money for food but always had money for "booze". His strongest memories of childhood are of his mother drinking. Rowntree's intentions and opinions can be called into question to identify how they may have influenced his methods and findings. For example, Giles & Rees Jones (2011) suggest Rowntree was influenced against Hungate by his ideas about history, his appreciation for medieval history and his opinions about poverty. They suggest Rowntree's medievalism was reinforced by living in York and that the medieval inspired style of New Earswick, a model village in the suburbs of York, was the Rowntree family antidote to industrial Hungate. New Earswick was constructed two miles north of York in 1902 in response to the statistics revealed in the poverty survey. The model village, designed by Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, offered low rents and generous green spaces to any working people. While the relationship

between semi-literate communities and documentary sources is far from simple (Giles and Rees Jones 2011) in the case of Hungate these documentary accounts had a profound effect on the perception of the Hungate community. Symonds (2011) advocates for an approach to the archaeology of urban slums that prioritises recovering the complex social networks that sustained community life. What isn't mentioned by Rowntree, admittedly likely because it was outside the scope of his study, was evidence of a willingness to invest in housing, comfort or neighbourliness.

WH commented "As a community though, it was a civilisation killed when they moved it. People may look on us as poor people. We weren't poor at all. What with character and everything else, we were rich. We was happy". AB echoes this sentiment, that "our days" were better than today somehow. She said that they could have rebuilt Hungate and she would have lived there willingly.

5.5 Conclusion

Hunter-Mann (2008a) states that the combined approach of archaeology and documentary research creates a more robust and holistic narrative that neither can produce individually. Oral accounts of Hungate suggest that although the residents understood their way of life to be challenging in many ways they did not view themselves as living in a slum or as being slum-dwellers. They accept the community was primarily poor due to high unemployment, low wages, high rents and small houses with varying conditions of quality. This lack of money resulted in Hungate's residents being economical such as locating free coal, attending clubs and trips organised by charities and children creating games for enjoyment such as making a football from a pig's bladder from the slaughterhouse.

Rowntree's opinions of Hungate were formed by an outsider looking into the community and finding unpleasant contradictions to his own circumstances and so Rowntree's comments reflect the very worst of the neighbourhood. The York Health Department inspection sheets should also be viewed with some scepticism. Again, outsiders to the Hungate community looking to uncover and record the negative aspects of the neighbourhood. It is unlikely Rowntree would have favourably

recognised the community nature of Hungate that is shared within the oral history accounts. Rowntree concluded that poverty persisted without social intervention, that poverty was a cycle that lasted for the whole lifetime and he embarked on a lecture tour to share his results. The oral history accounts, archaeological evidence and some of the documentary research show that overall Hungate was a thriving, hard-working and proud neighbourhood with residents who had high levels of attachment to the community way of life. Rowntree's study into poverty may have been well intentioned as he attempted to draw attention to poverty within towns and cities in order to encourage action to improve the living conditions of those affected by poverty. Rowntree's views that poverty was a result of low wages were not an opinion shared by other reformers who blamed the poor for their poverty however with the deployment of the slum label by a nationally respected member of an economically powerful family (Connelly 2011) would Hungate would have earned its slum status without Rowntree's input? Shortly after Rowntree's survey the 1907 York Health Office survey concluded much of Hungate was unfit for human habitation. This survey and Hungate's destructive end may have created or perpetuated its slum status without Rowntree's contributions.

A more appropriate term to describe the Hungate would be a community influenced by varying degrees of poverty. This more accurately reflects Hungate's community spirit and degrees of poverty rather than encouraging any misconceptions about its residents that the term slum conjures up. By describing Hungate in this way we can look beyond traditional slum stereotypes and look for community engagement, resilience, adaptation, community improvements of facilities and enterprise which both archaeology and oral history can provide evidence of.

Chapter Six: Lower English Buildings, Glasgow 1837-1966

6.1 Introduction

Glasgow is Scotland's largest city and was a centre of industrialisation and rapid urban growth from the eighteenth century. As with other major cities like London, Manchester and Liverpool, Glasgow experienced a population influx, increased manufacture and a resulting housing crisis.

A major public archaeology project took place at various locations to the south side of central Glasgow along the path of a proposed eight-kilometre extension to the M74 motorway between 2007 and 2008. One of the excavated sites, the Lower English Buildings, provided an example of philanthropic workers housing and the opportunity to investigate the relationship between archaeology and oral history at a site that included the domestic dwellings of the working class during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It was also an opportunity to investigate the physical remains of domestic properties provided for workers by an employer on a small scale. There was very little documentary evidence of the site uncovered and so the archaeology and oral history evidence was therefore key to understanding the use and development of the site. The author worked as site supervisor for Headland Archaeology and saw first-hand how the combined approach interpreted in-situ remains of housing and how the archaeologists were challenged and inspired by oral memories and personal photographs while the excavation was live. The excavations and oral history interviews of the Lower English Buildings took place within an extensive public archaeology programme that ran alongside excavations and involved museum exhibitions, open days, a website, a volunteer programme, a community archaeology conference and an oral history programme, the results of which are published in full in the M74 *Public Archaeology Programme Evaluation* report (Morton et al 2008). The project was an innovative example of cross-disciplinary research and provides us with a model approach to the archaeology of the recent past (Nevell 2016).

Street Name	Oral History	Archaeology	Built heritage	Documentary
Lower English Buildings	Yes	Yes	No	No

Table 6.1: Table of available evidence for the Lower English Buildings

6.2 History of housing in Glasgow and the Lower English Buildings

6.2.1 History of housing in Glasgow

The period in which the Lower English Buildings were constructed was a time of advances in building standards in Glasgow with the introduction of legislation intended to improve the social conditions and health of the population. Glasgow was established around the River Clyde and played a role in the transatlantic slave trade, sugar, tobacco and cotton trade. The widespread textile manufacture of the 1770's sparked Scotland's industrial revolution with the building of the first water-powered cotton spinning mills (Nevell 2016) and the late eighteenth century saw the middle class suburbs being overtaken by industry and working class housing (Williamson 1990). Glasgow experienced a population influx as a result of increased industrial activities with many skilled workers arriving from England (Drew 2011). Unlike England, which followed a pattern of terraced style housing, Scotland, particularly Glasgow, was dominated by tenement housing which Daunton (1990) attributes to the Scottish land law. Tenements were four-storey high blocks of flats accessed via a shared staircase with box or recess beds to maximise the number of residents able to occupy each unit. Residents shared facilities such as a yard and toilets. Tenements were similar to Liverpool's court housing but on a much larger scale physically. High rise Scottish tenements made the introduction of water closets and a water supply difficult and expensive. In 1914 the majority of Scottish working class still shared water closets and washing facilities and there was a noticeable improvement after 1890 (Rodger 1995). While legislation concerning housing was

introduced in response to public health concerns Scotland had its own building control legislation such as the Housing Town Planning etc Act (Scotland) 1919 which enabled councils to assess their own housing needs and the Housing Act (Scotland) 1930 which facilitated the demolition of slum areas. The legislation made little impact on the development of housing in Glasgow as after the tenements were dealt with the 1960's saw a repeat of this building style in the form of high-rise blocks of flats. Additionally, Nevell (2016) argues that the legislation made little impact on the Lower English Buildings which remained occupied until the 1930's with no internal water supply.

Glasgow experienced the same housing issues as other major urban centres on a scale only eclipsed by London (Nevell 2016) and the consequences of the issues were overcrowding, poor sanitation and disease (Maver 2000). There are contemporary accounts of social scientists and campaigners visiting Glasgow and commenting on the housing condition for example Engels quotes J C Symons, a government commissioner for the investigation of the condition of the hand weavers, who spoke about Glasgow as "until I visited the wynds of Glasgow I did not believe that so much crime, misery and disease could exist in any civilised country. These dwellings are usually so damp, filthy, and ruinous, that no one could wish to keep his horse in one of them." (Engels 1840, 79). While the urban development of Glasgow has been previously investigated by Allen (1965) and Williamson (1990), and housing specifically by Rodger (1989), Butt (in Chapman 1971) and Williamson et all (1990), philanthropic housing like the Lower English Buildings was less common and has yet to be fully investigated.

6.2.2 Lower English Buildings

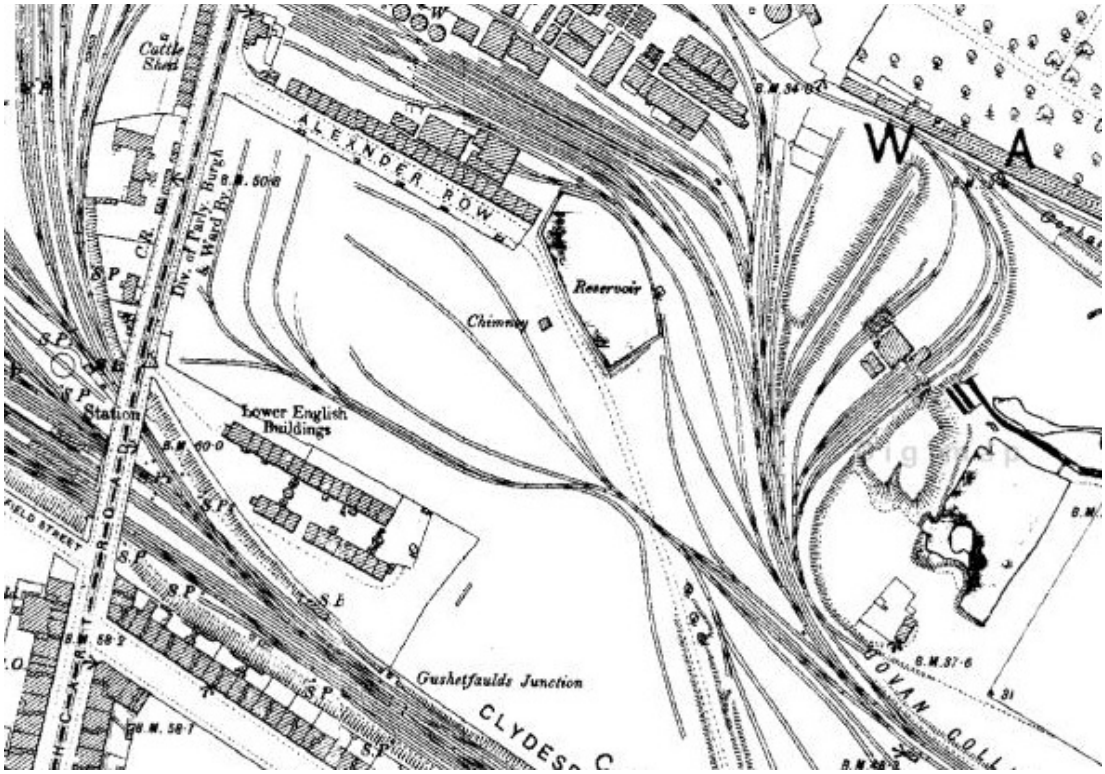

Figure 6.1: Map showing the Lower English Buildings in the 1890's

Glasgow was at the forefront of the iron industry and able to produce low cost, high quality foundry iron (Nevell 2016). The Dixon family moved from England to set up new businesses in and around Glasgow with Govanhill estate lands taken over by William Dixon (1753-1822), formally of Northumberland, who arrived in Glasgow in 1771 (Atkinson et al 2008). Dixon worked his way up from manager to lessee by 1820 when he became the owner of Little Govan Colliery and was Co-founder of the Calder Ironworks. Dixon went on to pioneer railways to facilitate the delivery of coal directly to his consumers. Upon his death in 1822 his two sons, John and William Junior (1788-1859), inherited the estate with John soon selling his share to his brother William. In 1837 William Dixon Junior founded Govan Iron Works next to Govan Colliery to produce bar iron and castings for steam engines. William Smith Dixon (1824-1880) took over the family business in 1859.

Dixon's workers' housing was similar in style to the miner's rows common in Scotland and England. Drew (2011) suggests Dixon's built company housing, which included the Lower English Buildings and properties on Cathcart Road referred to as Alexander Row and Urries Row, to ensure the skilled non-Scottish workforce were housed at a time when there was much overcrowding, a substantial lack of good quality housing and industrial unrest. This suggestion is reasonable as contemporary documents do not suggest the Dixon family were concerned with the welfare of workers. The initial workforce was imported from the West Midlands and south Wales (Nevell 2016). Constructed during the 1830's there were two main elements to the site, the foundry to the south-east and adjacent to the foundry, the Lower English Buildings, which housed some of the workers and their families. The Lower English Buildings consisted of two rows of almost identical miner's cottage style buildings aligned east-west. On the First Edition Ordnance Survey map of 1857 the original three northern cottages are shown as being each divided into two units and the southern range as ten units, divided further into sixteen units by the Second Edition Ordnance Survey map of 1895. The houses remained occupied into the 1930's and in early 1942 until 1944 the Home Guard used them to train as the 'Glasgow Area Town Fighting School. After this the Lower English Buildings remained derelict until they were demolished in the 1960's.

Phase	Dates	Function and events
1	Pre-1830	All that occurred prior to 1830
2	1830-1865	Construction of Lower English Buildings which were founded in 1837
3	1866-1930	Domestic use
4	Post-1930	Military use. Families moved out of Lower English Buildings and the site is used by the Home Guard. The foundry remained in use until the late 1950's.
5	Post-1960	Demolition and deposition of the overburden. The final parts of the site to be demolished was the office and engine house in 1966.

Table 6.2: Table showing phases of occupation of the Lower English Buildings site

The Lower English Buildings are only one example of employer provided housing and there is no surviving evidence that Dixon was a benevolent employer. It is most likely that Dixon provided housing for his workers in order to attract skilled labour from elsewhere, providing housing at a time when overcrowding in Glasgow was rife.

6.3 The housing experience

The excavation of the Lower English Buildings was conducted as part of the wider site of Govan Iron Works. The excavation was part of a wider project to excavate a number of sites along the path of the M74 road expansion project in 2007 and 2008. The completion of the M74 ran through the suburbs of Cambuslang, Rutherglen, Polmadie, Govanhill, South Laurieston and Kingston. The project was commissioned by Glasgow City Council for Transport Scotland and was undertaken by HAPCA, a joint venture of Headland Archaeology and Pre-Construct Archaeology. Much of the documentary research was carried out prior to the archaeological work as part of a site-by-site assessment (Dalglish and Driscoll 2004) and as part of the archaeological work (Atkinson et al 2008). The oral history project was conducted as part of an extensive programme of public archaeology activities which ran alongside excavations and involved museum exhibitions, open days, a website, a volunteer programme, a community archaeology conference and an oral history programme, the results of which are published in full in M74 *Public Archaeology Programme Evaluation Report* (Morton et al 2008). The *Public Archaeology Programme* aimed to actively engage the public in shaping the project in several ways including through general research involvement through oral history. Whereas the *Public Archaeology Programme* aimed to promote an interest in and understanding of archaeology and archaeological methods to the public, the oral history project aimed to engage the community who had connections to the cultural heritage along the M74 route.

The desk-based assessment (Dalglish and Driscoll 2004) confirmed there were no extant remains of the Lower English Buildings, and documentary evidence was limited. Potentially the archaeological evidence and memories from the oral history interviews were the only sources of evidence available to construct an understanding of what the housing experience was like for residents of the Lower English Buildings.

Element of the housing experience	Archaeological record	Archaeology built heritage	Oral History	Documentary
Quality of construction, neglect of repairs	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Building materials	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Layout	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Windows (light)	No	N/a	Yes	No
Conditions, dampness, temperature	No	N/a	Yes	No
Room use	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Amenities in dwelling, fixtures and fittings	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Size of property	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Room dimensions	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Overcrowding, frequency of occupation, sleeping arrangements	No	N/a	Yes	No
Sanitation, washing, toilets	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Water supply	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Drainage, waste removal	Yes	N/a	Yes	No

Decoration (lime wash, plaster, flooring)	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Shared amenities	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Ventilation	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Wider neighbourhood	No	N/a	Yes	Yes
Sense of community	No	N/a	Yes	No

Table 6.3: Table showing the predicted survival of the housing experience for the Lower English Buildings

There were a number of objectives in the original specification (Booth 2007) as a focus for the Lower English Buildings; increase our understanding of the relationship between workers accommodation and contemporary working practices, increase our understanding of the contribution made towards issues such as sanitation and health by the organisation and construction of workers housing. Additional questions raised in the M74 *Cultural Heritage Evaluation* (Dalglish 2004) included; can the ethnicity of residents be determined, can the function and use of back-lot activities and buildings be determined, can the increasing control and regulation of drainage, sanitation and building by the introduction of a series of targeted local ordinances be recognised in the archaeological record? These echo the questions raised by this research regarding the housing experience. Particularly relevant to this research were aims such as;

- increase our understanding of the contribution made towards issues such as sanitation and health by the organisation and construction of workers housing
- can the function and use of back-lot activities and buildings be identified?
- can the increasing control and regulation of drainage, sanitation and building by the introduction of a series of targeted local ordinances be recognised in the archaeological record?

- by the 1880's the installation of interior water closets was widespread in Glasgow among all classes. Is there evidence for the adoption of interior water closets in the Lower English Buildings?

The objectives of the oral history project within the Public Archaeology Programme aligned with the archaeological objectives. The oral history project aimed to contribute to the interpretation of the archaeology whilst the excavation was live and record memories of those who had a connection with the site so to draw on the knowledge of the local community. An especially innovative method to provoke site specific memories that was applied during the oral history project was to invite site-based archaeologists to pose questions prior to the oral history interviews taking place to identify archaeological features uncovered by excavation or confirm features that required clarity. The M74 Completion report (Atkinson et al 2008) presents the archaeological findings yet also touches on the oral history evidence, particularly where it complements the archaeological findings.

6.3.1 Documentary

There was little documentary evidence available for either the foundry or the Lower English Buildings and records of the Dixon family were fragmentary. The desk-based assessment conducted prior to the excavation confirms that no documentary evidence could be located, and that archaeology was therefore the key to understanding the operation and history of the site (Dalglish and Driscoll 2004).

The Lower English Buildings are shown on the First Edition Ordnance Survey map 1857/8, the Second Edition Ordnance Survey map 1894 and on a building control plan from 1896. The 1857/8 Ordnance Survey map provides dimensions of the houses as 11.5m by 9m. They appear on the Third (1913) and Fourth (1934) Ordnance Survey maps. The Ordnance Survey map of 1857 shows the northern row to have ten units in a terraced formation and the southern range had three detached units each with two dwellings with the space between the ranges being occupied by several circular structures. The Second Edition Ordnance Survey map 1894 names the ranges as 'Lower English Buildings'. The Mitchell Library Archives (ref 1/4 366) holds a building control plan for the Govan Iron Works site dating to 1896. On it the

ranges are labelled as ‘one-storey work-men’s cottages’. There is a painting of the site by an unknown artist dated to 1860 (Glasgow Museums Collection). There is a small collection of photographs taken in 1942 which show the houses had acquired a second storey when the site was taken over by the Home Guard to act as a fighting school. The school was closed in 1944 and the Lower English Buildings remained derelict until their demolishment in in the 1960’s. Only part of the 1841 census for the Lower English Buildings survives and it describes the residents as English although many of the names are Welsh. Nevell (2016) proposes that it is likely they did not distinguish between England and Wales.

In 1915 the Medical Officer of Health condemned Alexander Row stating dampness, structural defects with the walls, floors and ceilings, with a lack of sanitary facilities. These houses were demolished in 1917 (Nevell 2016, 152). In 1935 the Lower English Buildings were condemned by the Committee of Insanitary Areas under the Housing Act (Scotland (1930) due to dampness, the absence of ventilation, absence of lighting and the absence of toilets (Nevell 2016, 152).

It was recognised that for many of the M74 sites, particularly the Lower English Buildings, archaeology was the only way of reconstructing the industrial communities due to a lack of surviving documentary evidence (Dalglish 2003, Nevell 2016).

6.3.2 The archaeology of the Lower English Buildings

Figure 6.2: Plan showing the extent of the excavation of Govan Iron Works and the Lower English Buildings over the Ordinance Survey 2nd Edition 1895

An initial assessment of the Lower English Buildings site, and other sites along the proposed M74 route, was carried out by Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division (GUARD) (Dalglish and Driscoll 2004). They proposed a large excavation of the Govan Iron Works (13,300 meters squared) and the Lower English Buildings (6,300 meters squared). The desk-based assessment concluded the site should be considered to be of national importance with the potential to add significantly to historical understanding of the Dixon dynasty (Dalglish and Driscoll 2004). Later, a general methodology was proposed, and an evaluation conducted

with a series of test trenches excavated by GUARD in 2004 (Will and Kennedy 2004) which recorded a series of sites dating from the eighteenth to mid-twentieth centuries. The site was fully excavated by Headland Archaeology and Pre-Construct Archaeology acting as a combined project (HAPCA) between October 2007 and March 2008. The author was directly involved in the excavation of the Lower English Buildings as a Site Supervisor for Headland Archaeology at the Govan Iron Works site and responsible for managing archaeologists and excavating much of the housing and associated features such as the wash houses and the toilet block.

Figure 6.3: The author on site (working shot)

The desk-based assessment noted that, for the M74 sites, Govan Iron Works was unusual because it was associated with company workers housing (Dalglish and Driscoll 2004). The excavation area was 7,410 meters squared and was excavated using the single context recording system. In addition to the foundry two rows of single-storey houses were excavated, a northern range of terraced houses and a, better preserved, southern range consisting of three semi-detached houses which were later subdivided to provide an increased number of accommodation units.

There were no upstanding remains on the Lower English Buildings site upon commencement of the excavation and it was wasteland prior to being excavated and redeveloped. There was between one meter and one and a half meters of rubble overburden which was removed by machine prior to being excavated by hand. The survival of the floors and the lower courses of the brick walls was good however preservation was variable. It was understood that the proposed route of the M74 would run through the two rows of the Lower English Buildings. From the archaeology a picture of what the housing experience was like for residents of the Lower English Buildings emerges.

Figure 6.4: Archaeologists working at the Lower English Buildings site (working shot)

Building material and amenities of houses

The houses of the Lower English Buildings stood in two rows, a northern range and a southern range. The southern range had three buildings each almost identical in design and layout. The external wall and foundations were pink roughly hewn sandstone blocks bonded with a yellowish white sandy mortar. There were two units in each building, further subdivided to make a four unit building which archaeologists suggested occurred contemporary with the sandstone walls (Atkinson et al 2008).

The northern range had an external sandstone wall and a series of tied-in sandstone division walls further subdividing the original ten units to sixteen units. Individual units were further subdivided by an east-west aligned single brick width wall separating the unit into two rooms with an open doorway in the dividing wall. Each unit had one main entrance which faced onto the central area between the rows.

Each room had a hearth stone, either a limestone or granite slab, plus a north or south facing window. There were some variations, for example, one of the units in the southern building had floorboards and another showed evidence of the floor tiles being repaired with concrete. One of the concrete surfaces was covered in linoleum. Similar building materials were used throughout suggesting one building phase. The bricks were unstamped, unfrogged, stock-moulded and poor quality (Atkinson et al 2008) Many of the bricks were recycled, particularly the internal walls, suggesting a cost cutting exercise at the expense of the resident's welfare (Atkinson et al 2008).

Size of property and number of people occupying it

The southern range, a row of three almost identical detached miner's cottages, were each approximately twenty-three meters in length and nine meters wide. The floor area of the houses was similar to those of contemporary tenement flats (Nevell 2016).

Sanitation and drainage

The houses were tiled with square sandstone tiles and one unit had a concrete floor covered in linoleum. The northern and southern ranges were connected by brick walls across the central yard which divided it up into three areas. The dividing walls adjoined three circular structures comprising an internal and external circular wall connected by radial partitions. These were washhouses for residents on the site and provided individual booths to carryout clothes washing activities. The booths were paved with either limestone, sandstone or a brick surface with several areas re-surfaced with concrete suggesting evidence of either repair or improvement of these facilities. It was revealed that there were four booths on the southside of each wash house. This coincided with the number of units in the southern range. The north side contained five booths in each wash house reflecting the greater number of units in the northern range. Also in the central area were three water hand pumps and two

porch structures with a network of drainage pipes. There were three blocks of outhouses, square buildings three meters by three meters split into four rooms. These were toilet blocks however no evidence of drains, cisterns or cess pits was found associated with the blocks. Further evidence of sanitation and drainage facilities were blocks of brick built and paved outhouses located to the north and south of each wash house identified as toilet blocks. A network of drains identified as dating from early in phase two were laid during the construction of the northern and southern ranges. A later phase of drains was laid at the end of phase two including lead, iron alloy and ceramic pipes. It is unclear if these were both part of the initial sequence of construction or if the later additions were to improve the existing system.

Figure 6.5: Image showing the excavated toilet blocks (working shot)

Yard and neighbourhood facilities

A re-development of the Lower English Buildings site occurred during phase three including the laying of a number of external surfaces and pavements, including brick, stone, cobbled, tiled and concrete, along the outside of the northern and southern ranges in the central area. The range of materials used could imply that whatever material was the most inexpensive at the time was used. Outbuildings were uncovered next to the northern and southern range however, due to a lack of material finds across the site and the structures not being identified on maps, archaeologists were unable to suggest a function for these buildings.

Typically, archaeology can demonstrate living conditions through material remains such as pottery and glassware however there was little evidence from the Lower English Buildings, this is where oral history is a critical source of evidence for the housing experience.

6.3.3 The oral history of the Lower English Buildings

Figure 6.6: Image of CW outside her house 24 Lower English Buildings

The oral history project was conducted by Dr David Walker on behalf of Culture and Sport Glasgow, as part of a public archaeology programme, between December 2007 and April 2009 and aimed "…to record the memories of those who had a connection with former buildings identified as being worthy of archaeological examination along the route of the M74 completion." (Morton et al 2008, 26).

During a period of just over twelve months twenty-four narrators with a personal connection to the M74 sites were interviewed by Dr Walker as part of the oral history project. Seven of the narrators provided memories concerning the Govan Iron Works, three of which were specific to the Lower English Buildings. Given the time limitations of the project success was measured by the sample of participants involved rather than the number involved. Sample factors included gender, age, religion and their proximity to the site.

A detailed report was produced by Dr Walker and presented within the *Public Archaeology Programme* report (Morton et al 2008). The purpose of the research study was explained to the narrators prior to interviews being conducted in the form of written material sent directly to their homes. This written material included an informed consent statement, a copyright clearance form and information regarding the aims of the research, their rights as a narrator, referred to as a respondent by Dr Walker (Morton et al 2008), and how their testimonies would be collected, recorded and archived. The interviews were conducted by Dr Walker one-to-one with the participant in their homes, although in most cases a family member was present. The interview style was semi-structured with specific questions selected to question the participant about specific areas and to encourage life-histories to emerge. Initially, standard questions were asked to open the interview to allow the narrator the opportunity to relax and become familiar with the situation. The longest interview conducted took two hours and thirty-two minutes and the shortest was thirty-seven minutes. The average interview length was one hour thirty minutes (Morton et al 2008). Over thirty hours of testimony was recorded, edited according to the wishes of the narrators and fully transcribed by Lesleyann Gardner, Jennifer Kinlock and Dr David Walker. The recordings and transcripts are now archived at the Scottish Oral History Centre based at the University of Strathclyde thanks to Dr Walker. The transcripts are easily accessible for researchers to make use of and the M74 archive has copyright open access, so the material can be used unreservedly. The *Public*

Archaeology Programme oral historian, Dr Walker, has been enthusiastic for the material to be used and kindly sent the author the transcribed testimonies and images for use in this research. The memories contained within the archive are potentially the most significant outcome of the *Public Archaeology Programme*. A representative of Glasgow Museums provided feedback on the *Public Archaeology Programme* and commented that the creation of the oral history archive will be of benefit to the museums. In fact, the oral history testimonies were widely used in heritage displays within the two exhibitions that ran alongside the excavation. Russel Coleman of Headland Archaeology provided feedback on the *Public Archaeology Programme* and felt the oral history project had been a particularly successful part of the programme as it engaged communities and held together different aspects of the project as a whole (Morton et al 2008).

Although only one of the narrators resided in the Lower English Buildings, former residents that lived close to the site and workers from the Govan Iron Works provided a valuable alternative perspective of the landscape. No narrators were recruited directly from site visits and tours however CW was recruited indirectly through an acquaintance visiting and facilitating contact. This was described by Dr Walker as "a large amount of good fortune was responsible for delivering (CW)" (Morton et al 2008, 35). The oral history report is independent of the excavation report produced by site archaeologists although both reports make reference to one another's findings.

Name	**Dates memories of housing span from**	**Age at time of interview (DOB)**	**Reason for moving**	**Address of housing**	**How contacted project**	**Date of interview**	**Location of interview**
CW	Birth-1931	31.12.1918 (aged 89)	Lower English Buildings due to be demolished	24 Lower English Buildings	By a former resident who was born in the Lower English Buildings	27.02.2008	At narrator's nursing home

					but emigrated soon after		
JS (Niece of CW)	N/a	11.07.1940 (aged 67)	N/a	N/a	Via CW	01.04.2008	At narrator's home
MN	Birth-1958	03.03.1937 (aged 71)	Father retired from Govan Iron Works	On the site but not in Lower English Buildings	Unknown	28.11.2008	At narrator's home

Table 6.4: Table showing the narrators with memories of the Lower English Buildings who took part in the oral history project

Three narrators could recall memories of the Lower English Buildings. CW was born in the Lower English Buildings in 1918 and resided there until 1931 when the family moved as the houses were being demolished. Some of the houses were still inhabited when the family left, and she recalled the family receiving letters regarding new housing as the Lower English Buildings were no longer considered fit for purpose. She was one of twelve children although some did not survive childhood. Her family rented the house from Dixon's as her father was a furnaceman and bricklayer at the works and so the home was company provided housing. She has positive memories of living there; it was a good place to live, she preferred it to the house they moved to despite the new house having an indoor bathroom, the houses were warm, you were well respected for living there. As the only narrator who lived in one of the Lower English Buildings her memories are significant, more so than the other narrators JS and MN.

JS is CW's niece and she lived with CW as a teenager on Aikenhead Road, immediately opposite the Dixon's Blazes site, and had memories of CW sharing stories of life in the Lower English Buildings. She recalled stories of life being very basic, the squabbles between siblings to get washed, the arguments to get space in a bed and that the family were not poor but worked hard for what they had. She

recalled that, during the 1950's when she lived with CW opposite Dixon's Blazes, the foundry was extant but closed however the Lower English Buildings had been demolished leaving rubble where the children played. Her memories of the Lower English Buildings were passed to her from CW and so fall into the category of oral tradition rather than oral history. Her contributed is significant because her memories provide an opportunity to investigate and view CW's memories from an alternative perspective and lead us to question if CW viewed her time as a resident of the Lower English Buildings with nostalgia.

MN resided in a house within the grounds of Dixon's Blazes on Cathcart Road with a back yard that backed onto the foundry. She lived on the site from birth until the foundry was closing and her father retired in approximately 1958 having worked as a coke oven manager from 1935. Her house was a three-bedroomed house with an internal bathroom and a garden which housed two parents and three children. She recalled the area was very dirty with soot, smoke and lots of noise, mostly from the wagons delivering coal. She recalled the Lower English Buildings as rows of little houses but that they were empty and windowless, a place for local children to play.

Figure 6.7: Image showing MN stood in her back garden at Govan Iron Works

Based on the memories of one former resident of the Lower English Buildings, her relative and another narrator who lived on the Dixon's Blazes site we can conclude the following about the housing experience;

Building material and amenities of houses

The Lower English Buildings were single-storey terraced housing, similar to miner's rows, each with two rooms, one of which was a kitchen. One exception was the house that CW and her family lived in which was two houses knocked into one due to the number of people in the family residing there.

Nothing was said of the quality of the houses or the building materials, other than the houses had a stone floor. CW said the houses had a white-washed window. Nothing was mentioned about the conditions within the houses other than CW noting "They were good houses, not a thing wrong with them." (SOHCA, 023/23, interview with CW) and that they were warm. All the houses had a front door and some also had a rear door while others used their window if residents wanted to leave the house via the rear. The houses all had an outdoor coal cellar and a coal fire in the kitchen room which was one big living room. CW's family were the only ones to have a mangle and one of the only ones to have linoleum and carpet over the stone floor. The houses had a box bed, or recess beds as CW called them, a bed within a cupboard off the main living room. This was located opposite the fireplace.

Size of property and number of people occupying it

CW recalled two families, hers being one of the two, at Lower English Buildings with eleven people and at one time she had fourteen people living in her house. Although MN was asked about room sizes no dimensions were recalled however MN said the houses were "fairly small, just like little cottages really." (SOHCA, 023/23, interview with MN).

Sanitation and drainage

There was a considerable amount of information recalled regarding the sanitation and drainage at the Lower English Buildings. Many of the sanitation and drainage

facilities were shared including the standpipe, sometimes referred to as a well, which was located between the rows and provided fresh water until the 1930's. The houses did not have a water supply. There was a shared dirt bin and a shared toilet block although many of the households had their own toilet within the communal block. There was a wash house for clothes washing and residents attended early in order to light a fire to warm the water. The wash house had a stone boiler with an iron wall, two tubs and a washing board. Each house had a wash basin which was filled with water from the kettle that hung above the open fireplace. CW said the smoke from the works did not affect her house.

Yard and neighbourhood facilities

CW provided memories of an outbuilding on the Lower English Buildings site located to the rear of the houses which she said was a kippering store used to smoke fish. She recalled the area between the rows was an open yard paved in stone. CW's family had a vegetable garden, a hen run and a pigeon box. At the top of the main road there was a stable and shelters for horses and a blacksmith.

6.4 Discussion of findings

6.4.1 Survival

"I hope I have contributed a little bit" SOHCA, 023/23, interview with MN

Element of the housing experience	Archaeological record	Archaeology built heritage	Oral History	Documentary
Quality of construction, neglect of repairs	Yes	N/a	No	No
Building materials	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Layout	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Windows (light)	Yes	N/a	No	No
Conditions, dampness, temperature	No	N/a	Yes	No
Room use	No	N/a	Yes	No
Amenities in dwelling, fixtures and fittings	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Size of property	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Room dimensions	Yes	N/a	No	No
Overcrowding, frequency of occupation, sleeping	No	N/a	Yes	No

arrangements				
Sanitation, washing, toilets	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Water supply	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Drainage, waste removal	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Decoration (lime wash, plaster, flooring)	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Shared amenities	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Ventilation	Yes	N/a	Yes	No
Wider neighbourhood	Yes	N/a	Yes	Yes
Sense of community	No	N/a	Some	No

Table 6.5: Table showing the actual survival of the housing experience for the Lower English Buildings

6.4.2 The combined approach

There are particular elements where the combined approach provides a richer understanding of the housing experience, some where the different sources of evidence contradict each other and other themes where the knowledge would be lost without the combined approach being applied. The lack of documentary evidence meant the archaeology was all site-based with no documentary research to guide the excavation. The oral history had the potential to enhance the archaeology and fill the gaps.

CW was born at 24 Lower English Buildings in 1918 and lived there until the 1930's. Her memories proved significant in identifying ambiguous features uncovered during excavation and by providing a narrative account of life at the site. The combined approach proved particularly successful in a few key areas.

The M74 project referred to the site by its official name Govan Iron Works in all literature, however CW shared the site was known within the community as Dixon's Blazes. Dr Walker, the oral historian on the project, noted that not recognising the name may have been a contributing factor as to why only one member of the community volunteered for the oral history project (Morton el at 2008). This information could not be uncovered in the archaeological record and was not discovered in the scant documentary evidence available.

Within some of the Lower English Buildings archaeologists found internal brick walls surrounding brick surfaces and support stones. Discussions on site amongst archaeologists were that the features were either door jambs for cupboard doors or staircase supports which was unconfirmed as the documentary evidence conflicted. Photographs from 1942 showed the houses had a second-storey however the building control plan 1896 labels the houses as one-storey. The question of the unidentified feature was put to CW, who explained the features were box beds, or recess beds as she called them. Box beds were small cupboard-like rooms containing a mattress on a raised platform.

Figure 6.8: Image showing the brick surface of a box bed in the Lower English Buildings

Figure 6.9: Image showing iron staining on the support stones for box beds

Within the archaeological record the identification of the features is confirmed by the variation in floor surface from tiles to brick as the box bed surface would not have been seen or walked on and therefore could afford to be of a reduced quality. The confirmation from CW also cleared up the confusion that the features were staircases as maps and CW's oral history testimony confirmed that the units were single storeys. CW was asked if there was an upstairs in the house and she advised "No, not even an attic." (SOHCA, 023/23, interview with CW). MN confirmed "They were all just bunched like one-storey houses, little small houses." (SOHCA, 023/23, interview with MN).

Archaeologists uncovered three circular brick structures in the central area between the northern and southern range, identified as wash houses by archaeologists. CW's memories confirmed these features were wash houses. Further evidence of sanitation and drainage facilities were found in the form of three water hand pumps in the central area between the ranges which CW advised were used until at least the 1930's.

During phase three a re-development of the Lower English Buildings site occurred including laying a number of external surfaces and pavements, including brick, stone, cobbled, tiled and concrete, along the outside of the northern and southern ranges in the central area. The range of materials used could imply that whatever material was the most inexpensive at the time was used. Outbuildings were uncovered next to the northern and southern range however due to a lack of material finds across the site and the structures not being identified on maps archaeologists were unable to suggest a function for these buildings. CW advised these were stables, a smithy and a kippering store. Without this testimony the identity of these buildings would have remained hidden.

CW's memories confirmed specific features of the site which archaeology was unable to identify without any doubt. No archive material for the site was found and so CW's memories provide an invaluable source of evidence about how life was lived in the 1920's and 1930's within company housing. Perhaps a 'CW' is rare and unique and without her involvement the only knowledge from the oral histories about the Lower English Buildings would be from when they were vacant and demolished. While the contributions from MN and JS provide an account of the houses they lack the specific information gained only by residing in them. CW has privileged information and her memories are invaluable to our understanding of the housing experience of those that lived in the Lower English Buildings.

One objective raised during the evaluation stage was 'Can the identity of the inhabitants of the Lower English Buildings be determined?', a question raised due to the uncertainty around the term 'English Buildings'. As archaeological evidence and documentary evidence were non-existent and therefore unable to contribute suggestions to answer this objective, the question was put to oral history project participant CW. The Lower English Buildings name remains a mystery despite the oral historian for the project, Dr David Walker, asking the narrators directly. CW pondered that her row was lower because there was a second higher row. She could not answer why 'English' as the families were all Scottish when she resided at the site. Both archaeology and oral history failed to answer the question of the street name. It has been suggested (Drew 2011) that the reference to English may refer to a time when the Dixon family hired non-Scottish skilled workers. It is possible that when the Lower English Buildings were constructed in the 1830's they may have

been named for the identity of their inhabitants. However, the oral history memories of the 1930's were unable to confirm this as the residents at that time were Scottish. None of the disciplines could effectively answer this objective illustrating that on some occasions even the combined approach proves unsatisfactory.

It is clear from the *Public Archaeology Programme* report of the M74 Road Completion project (Morton et al 2008) that much can be learned of the combined approach that could be applied to future projects. Regarding the oral history project within the *Public Archaeology Programme* useful information was gained on how to conduct future oral history projects. Much was learned about how to recruit narrators as the methods applied resulted in only one narrator engaging in interviews regarding the Lower English Buildings. The project identified that prospective narrators do not realise the potential of their memories. This can be addressed in future to ensure the community understand their value. The excavation report (Atkinson et al 2008) and the *Public Archaeology Programme* report (Morton et al 2008) complement each other yet exist as separate professional documents which suggests, in this case at least, the community input was considered as valuable as the contribution made by commercial archaeologists.

The author recalls being asked to submit questions regarding the Lower English Buildings to the oral history project and receiving the information from CW, via Dr Walker. Her family photographs were hung up in the site hut. The oral history worked well with the industrial archaeology as it helped to place real people in the context of the buried remains of buildings (Nevell 2016). The oral history testimony is included in the archaeological report (Atkinson et al 2008), particularly where it identifies or confirms the archaeology, and it notes that the testimony provided by CW expanded the understanding of activities taking place at the site. It particularly refers to the oral history testimony about box beds and wash houses where CW had confirmed the interpretations of archaeologists and was able to describe their appearance and use, the water hand pumps which we know from the oral history testimony they were used until the 1930's.

Drew (2011, 49) comments that although CW'S testimony proved very useful "…we have seriously to consider whether the passing of the years might perhaps have softened CW's memories of her upbringing." This comment was made as a result of

CW's niece, JS, testimony. JS's testimony falls into the category of oral tradition as the memories she shares are second-hand, acquired rather than experienced directly. CW does make a couple of comments that could be interpreted as nostalgic such as the old days being a better way of life than modern days however her contribution to interpreting the unidentified archaeological features demonstrates how important and valid her memories were.

6.5 Conclusion

It is promising from the *Public Archaeology Programme* report (Morton et al 2008) of the *M74 Road Completion Project* that much can be learned from previous examples of the combined approach that can be applied to future projects. With regards to the oral history project useful information was gained on how to conduct future oral history projects. Much was learned about how to recruit participants as the methods applied resulted in only one narrator engaging in interviews regarding the Lower English Buildings. The project identified that likely participants do not realise the potential of their memories and this can be addressed in the future to ensure the community understand their value. The excavation report (Atkinson et al 2008) and the *Public Archaeology Programme* report (Morton et al 2008) complement each other yet exist as separate professional documents suggesting the community input was considered as valuable as the contribution made by the archaeologists. The most valuable legacy from this project is certainly the oral history testimony, housed at the Scottish Oral History Centre Archives, which provides an insight into life in post-industrial Glasgow.

The oral history evidence of the Govan Iron Works, and particularly the Lower English Buildings, site was of great significance to the legacy of the project as very few documentary sources existed despite CW commenting a number of times during the interview "I'm not helping you one bit." (SOHCA, 023/23, interview with CW). CW's memories confirmed specific features of the site which archaeology was unable to identify without any doubt. No archive material for the site was found and so her memories provide an invaluable source of evidence about how life was lived in the 1920's and 1930's within company housing.

Chapter Seven: Discussion and conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The combined approach of archaeology, the historic record and oral history provides physical evidence and first-hand accounts with which to investigate the housing experience beyond the official historical narrative about working class housing. It allows the investigation, revision and challenge of the mainstream narrative. Although all sources of evidence, and disciplinary approaches, have their faults, they are all incomplete in some way, together they can contribute to our understanding of an area, a housing form and the housing experience of the residents. The community, as experts through oral history, can potentially make valuable contributions to the interpretation of a site and the surrounding landscape and so sites of any period would work as a venue for memory recall. Any place-based project could apply the combined approach since place serves as a nexus for both oral history and archaeology. Indeed, it is the places where people spent their time and established place-based bonds that perhaps work best. Currently, within UK archaeology, oral history is rarely applied and tends to only be included on funded projects, those with the objective to engage the public rather than on commercial archaeological projects (for example Casella and Croucher 2010; Moshenska 2007).

The primary advantage of looking at the housing experience using the combined approach is that it can inform us how a place was experienced, provide first-hand testimony to interpret the archaeology and enable former residents to reclaim the narrative. In the Liverpool case study (chap. 4), despite a lack of excavated remains and limited extant remains, the oral history reveals this once prevalent housing type, providing information to design an archaeology brief and the testimony is preserved for future use. In the case of the York study (chap. 5), it has demonstrated the potential of using two data sets, collected approximately fifteen years apart, to challenge the mainstream narrative of an urban slum neighbourhood. The Lower English Buildings case study (chap. 6) has showcased the potential of oral history evidence being used within a commercial excavation, with public archaeology elements, and the engagement and public consultation being embedded within the commercial archaeology objectives.

7.2 Discussion

7.2.1 What is the value of the combined approach?

Elements of the housing experience appear in documents, archaeology and oral history but only the community aspects, the lived experience and place-based narratives appear in oral history. Combined they can provide a full picture of the housing experience, yet it is the oral history that can humanise the archaeological remains. A study by Beck and Somerville (2005) provides a framework to assess the combined approach proposing "conversations" between the disciplines that involve co-opting, intersecting, parallel, complementary and contradictory conversations where both sources are considered to have equal importance. The possibilities of the combined approach go beyond the housing experience to slum studies, place attachment, memory studies and developing an anthropological approach to studying the recent past in the UK. The combined approach as practiced elsewhere, particularly in the archaeology of Indigenous communities, could be more widely applied in the UK. There is huge potential to develop a model to apply to UK archaeology to facilitate the inclusion of oral history.

None of the three case studies discussed within this thesis are perfect examples of the combined approach in its fullest application but taken together they do showcase its potential. The Lower English Buildings case study (chap. 6) had just one narrator who was a former resident; in York (chap. 5) the oral histories were conducted approximately fifteen years prior to the excavations and in Liverpool (chap. 4) the only excavation was conducted just prior to the conclusion of this study. However, the combined approach is worthwhile because of its potential to offer a fuller, richer understanding of the historical past. For Hungate in York, more narrators did not necessarily produce more evidence, but it did provide a richer account of the housing experience. The combined approach worked well in identifying where sources of evidence complemented, for example the Duckett's toilets and where the evidence contradicted such as the quality of the bricks. The combined approach also filled gaps in our knowledge, themes that Rowntree's poverty study left vague such as the residents views on poverty. For the Lower English Buildings in Glasgow the case study demonstrated that one narrator is potentially enough. It provided an

example of oral history interpreting and identifying the archaeological remains demonstrating that community members can make a meaningful contribution to archaeology. This example is most like the approach practiced elsewhere in the archaeology of Indigenous Peoples. Dr Walker, the oral historian on the M74 project, commented on a copy the author's paper on the combined approach in 2013, "Oral history can be used to collect emotional responses and personal experiences, but this doesn't mean that they are not factual. Mrs Wilsons testimony is full of 'facts' which is why it was so important. It acted as a corrective to some of the assumptions being made by the archaeologists. You see, when I interviewed Mrs Wilson (Christina) there were no photographic images available at the time. All of the testimony delivered by Christina was from her memory. She very accurately described the lay-out of the houses, the surrounding outbuildings, the water and sewage systems as well as the interior of her home. These were facts drawn from her memory which all stacked up accurately with the maps found in the archive, the archaeological finds and with the photographs that later became available. Indeed, in some cases her testimony informed the archaeological interpretations. You could of course argue that when recalling incidents relating to her family that she would have done so selectively but this does not mean that they are not accurate. Yes, there is always a bit of subjectivity when describing something like feelings." (personal correspondence 2013). In Liverpool, recording the oral history interviews provided the first memories of this housing type, that could be studied alongside the abundant documentary material that exists on court housing held within the Museum of Liverpool collections for use by future researchers, and archaeologists. Since the oral histories were conducted and transcribed, staff in the Education Team at MoL have used the data to further develop their gallery tours of the court reconstruction and associated activities and Dr Liz Stewart has used some of the first-hand quotes to complement the historic data (Stewart 2019).

Across the three case studies it was discovered that the testimonies of the narrator's conflict with the official historical account of so-called slum-like working class housing. CW, who lived in the Lower English Buildings which displayed traits of slum-like housing, commented that you were well respected if you lived in a house provided by the employer Mr Dixon- "If you lived in a Dixon's house you were respected." **(**SOHCA/023/23, interview with CW). Narrators in Liverpool, displaced as a result of a city-wide slum clearance programme, commented that their houses were not slums and in Hungate in York former residents shared memories in which

they were not so poor as to be dirty or hungry and that, although conditions were not ideal, they pulled together as a community, a community spirit that does not exist today.

7.2.2 Methodology

Methodological findings

While archaeology in the UK usually follows a standardised methodological approach, this is not the case with oral history, even though best practice guidance is available from the Oral History Society (2017). The rise in popularity of oral history collected by community-led heritage projects suggests a more formal framework for the collection, processing, curation and storage of oral history could be beneficial. A more formalised and standardised framework could result in oral history interviews that are of similar quality, are recorded and processed in the same manner and are stored and accessible in the same way. A universal framework could be used by archaeologists on site in the same way the Museum of London Archaeology (1990) manual is used. The interview methodologies, data collection methods and storage of the oral history interview recordings vary between the three case studies.

During the course of this research there were several methodological lessons learnt regarding the combined approach that are important to flag;

- Both archaeology and oral history need to be treated as equally valuable for the combined approach to be successful
- The combined approach needs to be embedded within the archaeological strategy at the planning stage
- Considerations needs to be made for the collection, storage and dissemination of the oral history evidence
- Considerations need to be made about how to further develop site based oral history interviewing whilst also maintaining a quality audio
- Archaeologists need to participate in discussions on the theory of oral history and the combined approach in order to drive it forward
- Archaeologists need to engage in training to understand the theory, methodology and practice of oral history and this needs to be a priority

- A framework needs to be developed, using this research and the sources discussed in the literature review, to further shape and refine the combined approach

For the case study on court housing in Liverpool (chap. 4), the author, with colleague Dr Liz Stewart, designed the Our Humble Abodes project, conducted, fully transcribed and analysed the interviews. The author was fortunate to be supported to pursue an interest in court housing by Dr Liz Stewart who had an interest in court housing following their work reconstructing a court within the Museum of Liverpool and who was in the process of writing a book on the subject of court housing in Liverpool (Stewart 2019). Interviewing the former residents of court housing provided the author with the opportunity to gain first-hand accounts of the housing experience and they filled a gap in the Museum of Liverpool's collections. Being the interviewer meant the author could structure the questions, respond to answers and probe further which resulted in a narrative rich of features of the housing experience as well as more general life in court housing. It is recommended that the same interviewer, or interviewing team, conduct the interviews following the same approach and with the same objectives. However, the nature of a non-funded project is that resources, including people hours, are limited and so for this case study it is likely additional narrators could have been identified with the funding in place to fund staff time. What worked particularly well in this case study was encouraging narrators to bring supporting material with them which uncovered images of court life that had not previously been seen and were taken by residents rather than outsiders to the court such as health inspectors. They provide a rich view into court life during the time of celebration yet are filled with other elements of the housing experience such as the gas lamp and the ashbin. Here also, there was a written narrative that provided additional supporting material plus a sketch of the layout of the court.

Hungate (chap. 5) had the largest number of narrators and was the largest scale excavation of the case studies and so had the potential to be the richest case study. With Hungate in York this research had to be satisfied with the interviews, and the memories of the housing experience, that were shared. Although the author worked with legacy data, they partially transcribed the interviews that had focussed on housing and, in presenting the data in this thesis, have shared the information

contained within the interviews in a more subject-specific way than the more general interest book by Wilson (2007). Accessing the oral history interviews stored within a community-run archive was a struggle. The York Oral History Society archive is a community run archive which operates with limited staff and volunteer time and resources. Whilst such archives are important for collecting, preserving and caring for the material, their voluntary nature necessarily limits easy access to this material by researchers. Within heritage this issue has been raised as a concern previously (Giles and Rees Jones 2011; McDonnell 2003). McDonnell (2003) raised concerns about the preservation of oral histories within the National Park Service and Giles and Rees Jones (2011) identified that it is often documentary material that is inaccessible or uncatalogued as local archives struggle to survive and that it threatens the legacy of the material. In York many of the transcripts of the interviews had been lost over the course of a series of moves as the community archive attempted to find a permanent home for their collections. In the digital age it is possible to make copies that could be stored within a local museum, library or archaeological unit. Venues with dedicated staff time can enable community access and engagement with the collections. Several of the recordings were of poor sound quality, likely due to the equipment being used to record the interviews back in 1993, and the potential audio quality has improved with technology. However, poor audio quality might also result from transferring the interviews from cassette to disc. This is something to be mindful of in the future however the recording equipment currently available to oral historians and the digital software available to store and edit can help to reduce the chance of poor audio.

It was clear which interviews were conducted by oral historians and which by volunteers, simply by the way in which the questions were structured and phrased and by the level of conversation rather than the interviewer remaining mute. Some interviews were better conducted, with regards to best practice, than others. For example, the GS interview takes a semi-structured approach with many of the questions asked as a response to the answers given by the narrator. There is a good mix of direct and open questions which results in all the questions being answered. Some of the oral history interviews relied heavily on the use of historic photographs, for example AW and JB and this likely influenced some of the narrators. In some cases, it aided memory recall and conversation followed after seeing the photographs however in others it provided the interviewer with an opportunity to tell the narrator about their thoughts on Hungate which was influential

and misleading. The narrators displayed some memory loss and answered questions with responses like 'I don't know' and 'I can't remember'. In the LA interview the interviewer attempts to prompt memory recall by providing place names in Hungate but this doesn't help. During an interview, one narrator confusingly asks the interviewer, if they took the photographs of Hungate themselves. In some of the interviews the interviewer is prejudicial. For example, in the AB interview the interviewer tells the narrator "you had a York range that you black leaded" rather than asking them about what facilities for cooking and heating were in their house. In the same interview the narrator says that life was comfortable and the interviewer replies "but life was hard". The interviewer leads with their own opinion rather than reacting to what the narrator is saying or phrasing their opinions as questions such as 'Do you think life was hard for your family?' which would have been a better option. Again, in response to the narrator sharing her thoughts on St Saviourgate, the interviewer says, "it was wealthier" and talks over the narrator. In another interview they say "oh, but I would have thought this was the case". It's clear that over the course of a number of interviews the interviewer gained knowledge and enthusiasm for Hungate however this influences the way in which the oral history interviews were conducted, with best practice not being displayed. In the LK interview they assume slops were thrown into the street and she replied, "we weren't that primitive!". The same interviewer in the AW interviewer tells the narrator "it was a hard life". Two of the interviewers, and so many of the interviews, are particularly skilled and as a result the interviews are much clearer, more detailed and easier to extract information from. One asks the narrator to elaborate or explain each time which resulted in a more detailed account. This demonstrates the importance of having a trained oral historian conducting the interviews.

With the Lower English Buildings in Glasgow (chap. 6) there was no documentary evidence available which made the oral history evidence even more valuable. Here, the author worked with legacy data however worked as the Site Supervisor on the Lower English Buildings excavation. There was only one narrator who was a former resident of the Lower English Buildings, CW, and the *Public Archaeology Programme Evaluation Report* (Morton et al 2008) explores the reasons for this. However, CW's niece was also a narrator and so it was an opportunity to explore the potential for post-memory (Hirsch 1997), where someone who did not experience first-hand but has second-hand memories relevant, to work alongside or in place of oral history. The success of the oral history project was measured by the

sample of narrators, their gender, age, religion and proximity to the site, rather than by the number of people involved. Further discussions within the *Public Archaeology Programme Evaluation Report* (Morton et al 2008) regarding why the oral history project had attracted only twenty four participants explains that staff recruitment and enhanced disclosures were delayed and so "The workload was focussed on delivering an approved plan for the project interviewing those who had already made contact with the project, and on developing and delivering an educational outreach programme to nine primary schools involving more than 1400 children" (Morton et al 2008, 30). One could question if the public archaeology aims of the project were too ambitious given the time constraints of a commercial archaeology project. One alternative for future projects working to tight deadlines is to give public archaeology events less priority in favour of excavation, documentary research and oral history. It would be logical to collect the evidence within the limited timescale un-interrupted and present it to the public afterwards whilst still maintaining community involvement in the form of oral history plus other opportunities to collaborate such as excavation, post excavation activities and research. Another potential reason for the lack of narrators coming forward, an issue that was only identified while the interviews were being carried out, was that the site was more commonly known as Dixon's Blazes rather than by its proper title of Govan Iron Works. This is an important concern for future projects as the name of a site, and local names attributed to it, are likely to change over time.

The archaeology report (Atkinson et al 2008) and the *Public Archaeology Programme Evaluation Report* (Morton et al 2008) refer to each other. This demonstrates a cohesive approach designed in from the start, delivered by colleagues from different disciplines who were committed to working together. This is a good methodological example of the combined approach, what went well and what could be changed for future delivery.

Proposing a methodology for the future

Oral history, like archaeology, is finite and, furthermore, is only available for a limited time. Both archaeology and the practice of oral history recover evidence that will eventually be lost by recording it. It is possible, as the three case studies discussed have demonstrated, that it is possible to draw together evidence from both disciplines without diminishing the significance of the other (Lyons et al 2010). The

primary reason for conducting oral history within UK archaeology is to uncover evidence, memories, and prevent them from being lost. Using the site itself as a memory prompt can stimulate memory recall. The concept of a site is also useful for enabling archaeology and oral history to interact (Beck and Sommerville 2005). Moshenska's (2007) pioneering site-based approach to oral history provides the foundation to develop a framework for UK archaeologists to use to include oral history in their work.

It is likely that an archaeology project will attract local interest without much advertisement and encouraging community members to engage in an oral history interview is simply a case of explaining the purpose and intended use of their contribution. Advertising for contributors to the oral history element of a project can be done both digitally and physically. Projects advertise with history and reminiscence groups on Facebook, through local archaeology societies' social media accounts and mailing lists, and through local museums, which can reach a wide audience and often have established contacts with community groups. The project itself can be advertised in community venues such as places of worship, parks, health centers, supermarkets, dentists, and care homes. The Oral History Society website has guidance on this. Local radio stations, newspapers and television channels may be willing to feature the project, especially as this fills airtime or print pages for them. It is important to make it easy for the public to contact the project. Many potential respondents of oral history may not be digitally engaged, so a telephone number or postal address remain useful ways for getting in touch. Providing a drop-in or community social event to discuss the project at an accessible local venue could also encourage participation. Keeping lines of communication open help to develop a relationship with potential narrators.

Ideally the oral history element of an archaeological project would be developed during the project design phase rather than as an afterthought (Morton et al 2008). This would involve identifying appropriate interviewers or providing training to those willing to act as interviewer, establishing the research questions you are looking to have answered, identifying the potential that those with living memories are still available and selecting an appropriate interview approach, or a combination of approaches. Conducting an oral history interview is a skill and the interviewer must have the appropriate training, experience, and personality (Yow 2016). Interviewing

requires the ability to build a respectful working relationship with narrators, confidence, the ability to listen rather than talk, to think of the next question whilst listening to the current answer, the ability to respond quickly, to make people feel comfortable and at ease, to research and prepare and to build trust. Providing training to team members and volunteers can help to explain why the oral history element of a project is important and have them contribute to the questions asked during interviewer. It may also help identify additional potential interviewers from within the team.

There are a range of approaches an oral history interview can take and deciding which approach to take very much depends on the type of project and what is hoped will be produced by the oral histories. A life history interview, where the interviewer attempts to steer the narrator chronologically through their memories of their whole lives, can provide a richer interview where the memories and thoughts of the narrator can be understood in context. A thematic interview, where the questions are aimed at capturing memories of a specific event or time, can be appropriate for a project on a specific theme and one without the resources or budget to transcribe a collection of lengthy interviews. An object-based interview, where objects, documents or an archaeological site are used as either the interviewer or to prompt memories, can be particularly illuminating for interpreting the remains and objects uncovered during excavation (Webster and Tolson 2014). An informal drop-in approach has worked well in identifying place-based memories (Balderstone et al 2014). A group interview, with several narrators being interviewed at once, can be confusing due to the number of competing narrators, however, it can also produce a richer understanding of the interview theme with members of the group each acting as a memory prompt for the next. The group interview method can be a useful tool to encourage reluctant narrators to participate as the focus is less on them (Smith 2016). Group interview techniques have been used in projects related to Indigenous Peoples where Elders openly debate their memories until an agreed official account is decided upon (Lyons et al 2010). James (1997), when conducting interviews with both individuals and with group, uncovered discrepancies in memories of the events. One explanation offered by James (1997) to account for these discrepancies was that the group setting reinforced a tendency to compete with one another for presence. A solo interview with one narrator and one interviewer is the most common type of oral history interview. This usually takes place at the home of the narrator or at another venue familiar and comfortable to them. Traditionally, the

interview itself, is conducted in a quiet, comfortable place, usually the narrator's home. This is not always possible, and you may be required to go with the flow. The intended use for the audio recording of the interview may impact the decision on where to conduct the interview. Absolute background silence and good acoustics are required should the audio be used within a museum. If the audio is being transcribed it only needs to be clear enough to be understood and of a quality so it could be listened to again in the future. The interview location may be dictated by the narrator or by the subject being discussed. Typically, interviews are conducted with older people and their physical comfort may dictate where they preferred to be interviewed. Perhaps, from an archaeological perspective, we can develop a new way of conducting oral history to account for the inclusion of an archaeological site. Potentially we could manage the risk by conducting the interview on a day when site staff are not working, by providing comfortable seating, some shelter. Managing the audio quality could be achieved by using sound blankets. Alternatively, we could conduct a traditional interview in the common location of the narrator's home and a second interview on the archaeological site to record additional memories that may be encouraged by the archaeological landscape. Considering how to develop the practicalities of conducting oral history interviews to be inclusive of the archaeological site should be a priority for future research.

Some interviews are conducted with a script of set questions and others take a less formal approach where the interviewer can respond to the narrator and explore answers in more detail. Interview methods have developed from subject-centered advances in our understanding of how memories are constructed (Chuikshank 2000). Often a range of approaches and techniques will elicit the best results. Beck and Sommerville (2005) used a semi-structured interview technique when interviewing Indigenous members of the community. Moshenska (2007) and Casella (2012) interviewed narrators at the site of a live excavation. There are ways to capture memories of visitors to the excavation, potentially using mobile audio recorders or mobile phones, and then arranging a more formal interview to take place at a later date. Webster and Tolson (2014) had archaeological objects act as the interviewer in a group interview. Here, the objects were used as prompts to start conversations about how they were used and in turn about the homes in which they were used and the people who used them. The inclusion of documents, such as maps and historic photographs, within oral history interviews show this could potentially be a profitable method of focusing an interview on a specific subject

whilst allowing the memory to flow freely and could potentially promote recollections that would otherwise be forgotten. This method may be constructive relating to memories that may not be recalled easily. It is important to acknowledge that this method focuses memories more specifically than a verbal interview alone would do. The most appropriate approach should be selected on a case-by-case basis.

There are resources available to support a project to conduct oral history with key things that should be considered such as informed consent, duty of care, the right to withdraw, paperwork templates, and current best practice. Key texts to summarize the theory and practice of oral history include Abrams (2010), Perks and Thompson (2015) and Thompson (2000). Attention should be paid to the ethics guidance offered by archaeological and oral history organisations. The Society for American Archaeology adopted five principles of archaeological ethics in 1996; accountability, stewardship, commercialization, public education and outreach and intellectual property. The New Zealand Archaeological Association (1993) has a code of ethics for members that sets out the obligation's members must follow professional standards and ethics and the Canadian Archaeological Association has principles for ethical conduct which relate specifically to public outreach and education. The Oral History Society (2017) has guidance on ethics and the Oral History Association (2017) on principles and best practices. In the UK it is common practice to follow the ethical guidelines of the institution responsible for the project. Many of the ethical issues remain constant such as copyright, confidentiality and data use. Technological developments require new conversations to take place about the ethics of data storage and the ability to make oral history immediately available, and open access, online. The ability for oral history to capture the memories of marginalised groups also means ethical considerations should be made for the people we are interviewing such as vulnerable adults and children and those who have experienced trauma. The narrator must give informed consent, they must understand the purpose of the interview, the intended use, that they have the right to withdraw consent and it must be clear how the interviewer intended to store their personal information. The Oral History Society, a UK based organisation, gives a clear account of the ethical and legal responsibilities an interviewer has.

Another consideration must be to budget for oral history within the project design. Although it does not need to be expensive to include oral history, technology that

can record good sound quality is relatively inexpensive and can be purchased online, the cost of an oral historian, training and transcription can add up. The biggest cost implication is full transcription. Museums tend to summarize rather than fully transcribe using key words as future search terms, so the audio can be used in future projects and exhibitions. Generally, it is considered best practice to fully transcribe an interview although Good (2016) gives an account of the various approaches to transcription. It is possible to pay for a transcriber or have a member of the team do it. Volunteers are also a good resource for this activity, however, you must considerations must be made for confidentiality and data protection when sharing interview recordings with volunteers. It is good practice for the interviewer to provide an interview summary immediately following the interview and edit any transcription to ensure it is an accurate account of the audio. Considerations must also be made for what will be done with the audio recordings after the project has finished. Is there a suitable repository, such as a museum or library, that will accession the recordings into their collections? Can the transcriptions be made available alongside the archaeological report? How will the interviews be disseminated and made available for the community who have an interest in the data? How will the recordings be preserved for future researchers and community members? These are all questions that should be agreed and included within the methodology and research agenda of a project prior to it starting. Lowe (2005) proposes including relevant oral history information within the excavation report and then archiving the full oral history record however a full methodology of the oral history must be published with honest reflection to encourage the sharing of lessons learned as proposed by Sheftel and Zembrzycki (2013). Many published studies fail to provide any methodological information, so there is a lack of understanding of how many interviews were conducted, how interviews were structured, and the methods employed to encourage memory recall. Only by regular application, honest reflection, and the dissemination of results will there be enough examples of combined approach to develop best practice for application in archaeological fieldwork.

Historical archaeologists must acknowledge that they are interviewing a self-selected group of individuals, rarely equally representative of the community, who come with their own bias. Their testimony is not an object in the traditional sense and unlike archaeological material they are living, breathing, opinionated, outspoken, participants in the research project, collaborators and narrators.

However, this allows the multiplicity of standpoints to be recreated (Thompson 2000). It is the role of a researcher to ask the right questions, probe further, or recognise when a memory does not exist or has faded. It is the responsibility of the interviewer to help narrators to feel safe and able to speak openly, to recall their memories which may be painful. The aim should go beyond recording memories for a research project and collect personal testimony before the loss of memory or the loss of the respondent (Moshenska 2006). Nora (1989) argues we speak too much of memory because there is so little of it left; memory is fragile and temporary. Historical archaeologists should approach an interview as they would an excavation, record as per the research methodology, excavate until memory is exhausted and provide a clear record for future researchers. Including participants in the full project as collaborators rather than simply data sources has been a successful method for Indigenous studies. However, the community are often not involved in setting the research agenda, and so act as contributors rather than as collaborators (Watkins, 2000). Future research should focus on how the community can be involved in designing a project so that they participate as collaborators. Projects that encourage the community to drop-by the excavation and informally contribute memories risk important and valuable information being incorrectly recorded. For oral history to be accepted as a valid method for the recovery of evidence and to be practiced within archaeology it needs to be taken seriously as a discipline, and so the methods of collection and recording should be formalised and best practice established and followed.

7.3 Themes for future research

This study contributes to developing the combined approach of archaeology, the historic record and oral history, specifically historical archaeology, when investigating working class housing. There are several exciting possibilities of the combined approach for the future. The excavation itself has the potential to be a focus for the oral history where the narrator could be interviewed on site using the excavated remains to stimulate memory recall. For memory studies, the combined approach could provide evidence to overcome the concerns of the validity of oral history by offering another body of evidence to fact-check memories against. For archaeology, the combined approach could provide a fuller interpretation of the excavated remains and provide a meaningful way to include the community in the

archaeological site work. It raised the several themes to direct future research, themes that could provide additional evidence for the inclusion of a combined approach in UK archaeology. The themes are slum studies, place attachment, developing the combined approach within UK archaeology and memory studies.

Poverty and slum studies

Wohl (1977) comments on the impact Charles Dickens' *Household Worlds* may have had on contemporary and modern understandings of slums; Gaskell (1990) proposes that the ideas people have about slum-dwellers are reinforced by Dickens' writings. Many of his novels, and those of his contemporaries, memorialised slum life and poverty. Their adaptations are all singing and dancing, where the 'baddies' are caricatures and the 'goodies' are the salt of the earth, simply misunderstood and worthy of viewers affections. It is possible the lens through which the public views the past is tainted by popular culture and media. The combined approach has the potential to address this by putting physical evidence and first-hand accounts together. More effort should be placed on recovering the complex social networks from within urban slums and that historical archaeology has the capacity to identify how poverty has been constructed as a social problem (Symonds 2011).

More recently poverty studies have been approached from an archaeological perspective. Archaeological approaches to urban slums have attempted to offer fresh perspectives (Mayne and Murray 2001) and have included excavations at Little Lon in Sydney (Murray and Mayne 2001), Five Points in New York (Yamin 2002) and Angel Meadow in Manchester (Miller and Wild 2015). The discussions have continued with York Archaeological Trust hosting 'Poverty in Depth: New International Perspectives' in 2009 in York and Symonds and Beaudry hosting the session 'Slum dwellers revisited: bioarchaeology, documentary archaeology and the case for an integrated approach to nineteenth century poverty' at the European Association of Archaeologists conference in Glasgow. Researchers such as Kiddey (Brate and Kiddey 2015; Kiddey 2017) have worked to collaborate with homeless people, people who experience extreme poverty, in exploring the archaeology of their migrant living spaces. It is the active participation, the willing and enthusiastic involvement, of the people who lived in the sites being archaeologically explored that is required for an ethical and more complete account.

There are concerns we continue to parable the working class (Symonds 2011) or risk romanticising them (Walker et al 2011) through our research. This is where oral history can work with the archaeological evidence to avoid these pitfalls by providing authentic interpretations of the physical remains and material culture and the context in which they exist. With the characteristics of the people being implied in the term slum (Gilbert 2007) oral history, or counter-memory (Foucault 1977), can challenge the dominant discourse of slums and provide an alternative perspective to the archaeology and documentary evidence, particularly regarding marginalised groups like the historic working class.

The Liverpool case study (chap. 4) provides commentary on slums from former residents of slum neighbourhoods and their memories and opinions contradict the generally accepted view of working class neighbourhoods in Liverpool in the mid-twentieth century, just as the slum clearance programmes gained momentum. NS commented "People wouldn't think like that, that far back. It's only posh people now who think about slums.", JT said "Ours wasn't a slum. That must have been well before our time. We were better off." and when asked for his opinion on court housing being labelled as slums BR commented "Well, it's totally unfounded. People found themselves…were born into those conditions. There were some lovely people, you know. All history is contemporary history, they say. It can only be understood in its own time. Their values, their morals and everything else about it. It's very difficult for anyone to understand unless you actually (lived there). It's not black and white."

Archaeologists have yet to develop concrete ways to identify and understand the materiality of poverty (Orser 2011) and it is unlikely that the existence of poverty in the past can ever be determined by direct measurement. A single source of evidence, or perspective, is insufficient to reveal the complicated, rich, diverse, conflicting and dynamic accounts of urban slum neighbourhoods. Future research should focus on how archaeologists can locate and champion the involvement of former residents of slum neighbourhoods. Identifying ways to work with them as collaborators rather than archaeologists being the gatekeepers of the histories of groups of people marginalised by poverty.

Place attachment and place identity

Memories of housing and the home, by their very nature, are place-based. Within history researchers are increasingly addressing the links between memory and place recognising that memory is clearly linked to place due to the events that occurred there or the people that inhabited them (Balderstone et al 2014; Mah 2010; Massey 1995). Recognition of the importance of place is also gaining momentum in the archaeology of Indigenous Peoples (Basso 1996; Cruikshank 2000; Lyons et al 2010).

Place can be understood to be a physical, geographical space with a clear boundary, with a unique identity, character and history. Often this is a dwelling space (Devine-Wright and Clayton 2010). The concept of place attachment is generally understood to refer to the emotional connections people develop with environments that have meaning to them, be it a home, neighbourhood, city or landscape. It is just one term of many to describe an attachment to place. Others include; place satisfaction, place identity, rootedness, place dependence, environmental identity, connectedness to nature, sense of place, community attachment and sense of community. These different terms exist since researchers of this concept come from different theoretical traditions or fields (including archaeology, history, geography and psychology).

Little is known about the processes through which people become attached to places. Researchers have attempted to sub-divide theories of place attachment and create a scale to predict place attachment. Topophilia was a term redesigned by Tuan (1974) to describe the link between person and place as a love of place. Relph (1976) proposed seven stages of insidedness which was later converted by Shamai (1991) to seven types of increasing strength of attachment to place ranging from not having any sense of place to sacrifice for a place. From psychology, Canter (1997) proposed the facet theory of place and Gustafson (2000) conducted a study to determine what place means to people and how people relate to place. Studies focused on place (Devine-wright and Clayton 2010; Fried 1963; Lewika 2010; 2011) have suggested a number of predictors can increase or influence place attachment, with neighbourhood or community ties being the most positive predictor, followed closely by a sense of security, the length of residence in the neighbourhood, place scale and type of housing. Place attachment to neighbourhood can result from both an active participation in the local community and from the number of social ties one

has with people and places within the neighbourhood. The closer the social ties within a neighbourhood, the more meaningful the bonds of place attachment are likely to be (Lewicka 2010).

Scannell and Gifford (2010) observed that place attachment is stronger for places that evoke personal memories, that places are more meaningful to us if an experience that is personally important to us occurs there and Fried (1963) suggests that place attachment is stronger for vulnerable groups such as immigrants. Perhaps sense of place is only noticeable when people are deprived of the attachments to place (Basso 1996). The fast-paced nature of modern life has resulted in places developing beyond recognition and connections to place have been destroyed by modernity and displacement. The prospect of places changing, be it as a result of Second World War bombing, compulsory purchase, slum clearances, housing developments or change of use, makes it clear how irreplaceable place is (Balderstone et al 2014). Additionally, many communities are increasingly nostalgic for the past which is now only accessed via museums, commemorations and photographs.

With the attachment to a place a result of the people who lived there and the social interactions that follow (Woldoff 2002), and archaeology and memory being place-based, the combined approach could contribute to future studies.

Displacement grief

Several studies (Basu 2000; Blockland 2001; Convery et al 2014; Fried 1963; High 2016; Jones 2012) have shown that displacement generates feelings of grief that manifest themselves in memory (Feuchtwang 2003), which further emphasises that place attachment is grounded in emotion (Scannell and Gifford 2010). Displacement can occur as result of a natural disaster, war, immigration or neighbourhood relocation such as slum clearance programmes. Fried (1963) researched the effects forced relocation had on the residents of a neighbourhood in the west end of Boston which occurred as a result of planned improvements to the area. Although the neighbourhood was in a dilapidated state it was found that forced relocation caused the community to lose familiar physical structures and their social bonds resulting in the collapse of a tight-knit community. Fried (1963) concluded that ex-residents displayed symptoms of grief and experienced mourning and identified grief in former

residents in ways such as; feelings of painful loss, a general depressive tone, a sense of helplessness, direct and displaced anger and a tendency to idealise the lost place. Former residents were asked to comment on how they felt when their former home was demolished. Answers ranged from “I was glad because the building had rats” to “The building was bad but I felt sorry” to more extreme emotional responses such as “I felt terrible” and “It was like a piece being taken from me” (Fried, 1963, 152). Forced relocation results in the loss of people in the sense that the community is no longer intact and familiar faces, and places, are no longer a part of daily life. Displacement undermines established relationships with people and places, destroys a sense of community and ends one’s membership to a neighbourhood (Fried 1963). Blockland’s (2001) research into Hillesluis, a neighbourhood once the centre to a nineteenth century ship building boom in Rotherham, further demonstrates how grief and place are linked. Interviews with ex-residents of Hillesluis implied they felt loss from no longer being a part of the community with narrators saying, “It all just changed around here”. When asked what in particular they had lost or what they felt had changed, they replied they felt a loss of unity and the sense of “being together among each other.” The general feeling amongst ex-residents was that change was detrimental to the community and that past times were better times. Chapter four provides some clear examples of displacement grief. RL provided a quote his grandmother used to summarise the displacement caused by slum clearances “Things are done in a different way now. You can’t replant old trees.” An example of grief was shared by MM and demonstrates the feelings he has towards his former home. “I have this little dream now and again… our house is still standing there, and I’m walking over rubble, you know, up the court, and I go in the house … there’s an armchair there, and the old steel fireplace, it’s got the oven and the range and everything, and I’m standing looking round and I see a little flicker in the ash like that, and I goes over and the pokers there so I just give it a little nudge and the next thing the fire lights up! So, I just sit down there and look at the fire and then puff-it just disappears! It’s like, you know, you were happy there so that dream is like, you get that little flicker of light and when you touch it, it all becomes lovely and warm again, so you’re ……home.”. It is easy to understand how the decline, abandonment and demolition of the neighbourhood you lived in as a child could generate feelings of grief and loss, but it mustn’t be assumed this will always be the reaction.

It was noted within the *Public Archaeology Programme Evaluation Report* (Morton et al, 2008) that a number of potential narrators for the oral history project were reluctant to talk about their experiences. One former Govan Iron Works worker spoke to oral historian Dr David Walker informally in the M74 Discovery Centre at the Scotland Street Museum. The man spoke of an incident he had witnessed in his youth where a worker had been engulfed in molten iron following a spill. This man initially agreed to be interviewed formally as part of the oral history project, and his memories would certainly have contributed the understanding of working practices at Govan Iron Works, but he withdrew from the project. It is not uncommon for survivors to share their memories of an experience widely. For example, some survivors of the sinking of the Titanic toured the world sharing their experiences and allowed the traumatic incident to define them, for example, Millvina Dean. Though it is understandable that some would prefer traumatic memories to remain unspoken and that recalling distressing incidents may have negative consequences for those involved. The man was given time to consider his involvement in the project and, by invitation, was contacted at a later date to reconsider his initial decision. Again, he declined. It is challenging to identify how the issue of reluctance to be involved in a project could be managed. If a reluctance to be involved is due to the individual being unaware of the importance or value of their memories, then with education and patience it can be explained to them that their involvement is crucial to a project. However, if a reluctance to be involved is due to an unwillingness to provoke the recall of traumatic memories then the potential participants unwillingness or refusal must be respected.

From an archaeological perspective Beaudry and Parno (2013) have researched mobility and currently there is interdisciplinary research being conducted by Pitt Rivers Museum and Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Oxford, Architectures of Displacement, exploring the material culture of forced migration and investigating the potential for archaeology to reveal undocumented communities. These research projects demonstrate the importance of studying place and those who inhabited it, with narrators with lived experience dominating the narrative.

Community studies

Concepts of neighbourhood and community are unclear. Is community a geographical place with defined boundaries or a group of individuals with similar

interests and goals? Studies on community have developed from defining community by locality (Frankenberg 1966) to reassessing this narrow definition and suggesting communities are in the mind (Pahl 2005). Research has continued to investigate place-based communities focusing their attentions on social change (Lyon and Crow 2012), developments over time (Crow 2008) and the decline in a sense of community (Cosson 2013). The nature of community has received increasing attention from archaeologists (Canuto and Yaeger 2000). The Alderley Sandhills project archaeologically explored industrial and post-industrial life in rural Cheshire (Casella and Croucher 2010; Casella 2012). Casella (2012) explored how the intricacies of rural community life can be interpreted in the archaeological record and found the community belonged to a "memoryscape" (Nuttall and Coetzee 1998, 12). The collection of stories and recollections anchored together through the architecture and artefacts. Casella (2012) advocates for the combined approach so this example has huge potential as a model for future studies of community from an archaeological perspective. Future research into the nature of community could use Casella's (2012) model to further investigate the nature of community, particularly the nature of community from within urban neighbourhoods.

The potential for a combined approach to the study of different periods

In this thesis the housing experience of the working class during and post-industrial revolution has been the subject used as a focus to explore the potential of the combined approach. However, further research to identify how the combined approach could work within UK archaeology more widely would be worthwhile.

For the combined approach to work oral history needs to be embedded within the archaeology design brief. This involves conducting a thorough desk-based assessment to identify the potential for oral history narrators to exist, where they could be located and who will be conducting, processing and curating the oral history interviews. Narrators with lived experience of the site may no longer exist and so alternatives such as narrators with post memory or the current community could be interviewed to provide alternative viewpoints of the landscape and potentially bring family photographs, letters or objects relevant to the site. The approach to the archaeology of Indigenous Peoples provides some ideas for if there are no living narrators with first-hand memories available. Here, memory and knowledge are transmitted through generations and memories are place based and

can be recalled by other members of the community. In the UK family members, geographical communities, communities by theme, such as living history participants, and marginalised communities all have the potential to contribute memories.

Developing a framework for the combined approach to be applied by archaeologists, particularly one that takes into account archaeology that dates to outside living memory, should be the next priority for research into the combined approach.

Memory studies

Archaeology isn't intended to fill in the gaps in memory but act as a stimulus for memory recall. It is the archaeological site, the recovered objects and documentary archaeology that are the unique addition to the field of memory studies. Former residents have visited sites of excavation to share memories (Casella 2012; High 2012; Moshenska 2007) and the archaeology served as a venue for the production of memory, and social memory (Casella 2012). Using the archaeology as venue for oral history could further develop memory studies and aid our understanding of how we remember, how we recall and how we react to the physical recovery of material remains.

Nostalgia and dark nostalgia

Nostalgia is the selective, preoccupation with the past. Often, nostalgia exists for an imaginary past, a longing for non-existent, better days (Lowenthal 2015). Nostalgia lends itself well to housing with home being a site of memory (Nora 1989), a vehicle of memory (Yerushalmi 1989) and a theatre of memory (Samuel 1994). When older narrators recall their childhood homes, their memories can be nostalgic, or rose-tinted. However, in the case studies presented here this is not always the case. For example, in Liverpool, AR explained that although that way of life is gone forever it is not anything to mourn "They were lovely days, you know. I wouldn't change them for the world. I wouldn't change anything. We can appreciate what we've got and it's a way of life that's gone forever, you know? There's nothing to cry about, not really."

Often it is those who did not directly experience the past that are nostalgic for it, referring to them as better days. Where someone memorialises historic poverty that

they did not experience themselves it could be described as a dark nostalgia. Much has been written on dark heritage (Koskinen-Koivisto and Thomas 2017; McAtackney 2014) and dark tourism (Lennon and Foley 2000; Stone 2016) and nostalgia (Scanlan 2004; Shaw and Chase 1989) but little on why people focus on dark themes that they did not live through. Zerubavel (1996) proposes that much of what we remember we did not experience as individuals. This may explain why people are quick to believe and perpetuate myths than speak to the former community themselves. Future research could attempt to define dark nostalgia using the combined approach with the archaeological site as the focus.

7.4 Conclusion

This study has demonstrated the potential for oral history to play a central contributory role alongside archaeological excavation in the UK through a series of case studies on working class housing. It has found that each body of evidence both complements and contradicts but that a richer understanding of the past develops from the combination.

This research has moved the combined approach beyond the excellent foundation provided by Casella (2012), Belford (2003) and Moshenska (2006, 2007) in the following ways;

- The combined approach has been fully explored with multiple case studies
- It has provided a methodology for archaeologists to apply the combined approach, with archaeology and oral history treated as equals
- It proposed that oral history is a form of rescue archaeology and so advocates for the combined approach to be applied in the future
- It has demonstrated the value of oral history within historical archaeology, providing examples of why oral history has legitimacy and value
- It has demonstrated the potential of oral history to enhance our understanding of an archaeological site
- It encourages archaeologists to recognise the value of expert knowledge in the community and proposes ways non-archaeologists can serve as collaborators in the archaeological process in a meaningful way

- It provides a mixed methodology framework for the combined approach
- It has provided an alternative, twentieth century account of working class housing via oral histories from those with a lived experience
- It has added a layer of understanding to legacy data sets by pulling them together and contributes newly collected data, particularly the oral histories of court housing in Liverpool

For the combined approach to work in the UK archaeologists need to change their assessment of the legitimacy of spoken evidence. We need to recognise that expert knowledge exists within the community. We need to train archaeologists in oral history theory, methods and practice to give them the knowledge and confidence to work with the former and current community of a site, and to record memories before they are lost. We need to make education and training in oral history a necessary component in an undergraduate curriculum in archaeology. Finally, oral history needs to be embedded within archaeology design briefs as an essential component.

References

Abraham, N., and Torok, M. 1994. Trauma, secrets and posterity: the theory of transgenerational phantom, in *The Shell and the Kernel: Renewals of Psychoanalysis volume 1*, Rand, N., ed., pp. 165-171. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Abrams, L. 2010. *Oral History Theory*, Routledge, London.

Adams, M., and Stewart, E. 2017. An archaeological desk-based assessment of 29-39 Pembroke Place, Liverpool. Archaeological Services National Museums Liverpool, unpublished.

Adams, M. 2017. Project design for an archaeological excavation at Pembroke Place, Liverpool. Archaeological Services National Museums Liverpool, unpublished.

Adams, W. H. 1984. Ethnoarchaeology as a merging of historical archaeology and oral history. *North American Archaeologist* 4(4):293-305.

Alcock, N. W. 2005. Housing the urban poor in 1800: courts in Atherstone and Coventry, Warwickshire. *Vernacular Architecture* 36:49-60.

Allan C. M. 1965. The genesis of British urban development with special reference to Glasgow. *Economic History Review* 17:598-613.

Antoni, B. 2007. Sewer diversion shaft excavations, Hungate development, York: A report on an archaeological watching brief and excavation, report number 2007/27, York Archaeological Trust.

Arnold De Simine, S. 2013. *Mediating Memory in the Museum: Trauma, Empathy, Nostalgia*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.

Ashton, J. 1999. The history of public health in Liverpool: upwards and onwards, pendulum or helix? *Medical Historian: The Bulletin of the Liverpool Medical History Society* 49-54.

Ashton, T. S. 1954. The treatment of capitalism by historians, in *Capitalism and the Historians*, Hayek, F. A., ed., pp. 32-52. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

Ashmore, O. 1966. Low Moor Clitheroe: a nineteenth century factory community. *Transactions of Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* 73(4):124-152.

Ashworth, W. 1951. British industrial villages in the nineteenth century. *Economic History Review* 3:378-387.

Atkinson, D., Hurst, J., Nicol, S., and Turner., A. 2008. M74 Completion, Phase 2 Archaeological Mitigation Work Package 5: The Lower English Buildings, Govan Iron Works Foundry and Cathcart Road West Archaeological Excavations, Volume 1: Assessment Report (unpublished report), HAPCA (Headland Archaeology and Pre-Construct Archaeology).

Australian Archaeological Association. 2017. Codes and Standards.

Balderstone, L., Milne, G. J., and Mulhearn, R. 2014. Memory and place on the Liverpool waterfront in the mid-twentieth century. *Urban History* 41(3):478-496.

Ball, F. J. 1971. Housing in an industrial colony: Ebbw Vale 1778-1914, in *The History of Working Class Housing: A Symposium*, Chapman, S. D., ed., pp. 277-300. David and Charles, Newton Abbot.

Barsalou. J. 2012. Post-Murbarak Egypt: history, collective memory and memorialisation. *Middle East Policy* 19(2):134-147.

Basso, K. 1996. *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*. University of New Mexico Press, Alburquerque.

Basu, P. 2000. Sites of memory-sources of identity: landscape narratives of the Sutherland clearances. in *Townships to Farmsteads: Rural Settlement Studies in Scotland, England and Wales*, Atkinson, J. A., Banks, I., and Macgregor, G., eds., pp. 225-236. British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.

Beaudry, M. C. ed. 1988. *Documentary Archaeology in the New World*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Beaudry, M. C. 1995. Scratching the surface: seven seasons digging at the Spencer-Pierce-Little Farm, Newbury, Massachusetts. *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 24:19-50.

Beaudry, M. 2004. Doing the housework: new approaches to the archaeology of households, in *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology*, Barile, K. S., and Brandon, J. C., eds., pp. 254-262. The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Beaudry, M. C. 2015. Households beyond the house: on the archaeology and materiality of historical households, in *Beyond the Walls: New Perspectives on the*

Archaeology of Historical Households, Fogle, K. R., Nyman, J. A., and Beaudry, M. C., eds., pp 1-22. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Beaudry, M. C., and Parno, T. G., eds. 2013. *Archaeologies of Mobility and Movement.* Springer-Verlag, New York.

Beck, W., and Somerville, M. 2005. Conversations between disciplines: historical archaeology and oral history at Yarrawarra. *World Archaeology* 37(3):468-483.

Belcham, J. ed. 2006. *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History*. Liverpool University Press, Liverpool.

Belford, P. 2003. Forging ahead in Coalbrookdale: historical archaeology at the Upper Forge. *Industrial Archaeology Review* 25(1):59-62.

Belford, P., and Ross, R. A. 2004. Industry and domesticity: exploring historical archaeology in the Ironbridge Gorge. *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 38(2):215-225.

Belford, P. 2014. Sustainability in community archaeology. *AP: Online Journal on Public Archaeology* 1:21-44.

Bennett, K., and Fowler, M. 2017. 'In my memory, it says rarawa!: abandoned vessel material salvage and reuse at Rangitoto Island, Aotearoa/New Zealand. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 21(1):27-48.

Beresford, M. W. 1971. The back-to-back house in Leeds 1787-1937, in *The History of Working Class Housing: A Symposium*, Chapman, S. D., ed., pp. 93-132. David and Charles, Newton Abbot.

Blockland, T. 2001. Bricks, mortar, memories: neighbourhood and networks in collective acts of remembering. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 25(2):268-283.

Booth. R. 2007. M74 completion, Fullarton Road to West Kingston Bridge Archaeological Mitigation Services phase 2, Volume 3, specification (unpublished report), Glasgow City Council Land Services, Glasgow.

Brate, M., and Kiddey, R. 2015. Journeys in the city: homeless archaeologists or archaeology of homelessness. *Journal of Contemporary Archaeology* 2(2):235-245.

Brown, M. 1973. The use of oral and documentary sources in historical archaeology: ethnohistory at the Mott Farm. *Ethnohistory* 20(4):347-360.

Burgoyne, R. 1997. *Film Nation: Hollywood Looks at U.S History*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Burnett, J. 1978. *A Social History of Housing 1815-1970*. Methuen, London.

Butt, J. 1971. Working class housing in Glasgow 1851-1914, in *The History of Working-Class Housing: A Symposium*, Chapman, S.D., ed., pp. 55-92. David and Charles, Newton Abbot, 55-92.

Caffyn, L. 1986. *Workers' Housing in West Yorkshire 1750-1920*. RCHME and West Yorkshire Metropolitan Country Council.

Canadian Archaeological Association. 2017. Principles of Ethical Conduct.

Canadian Archaeological Association. 2017. CAA Objectives.

Canter, D. 1997. The facets of place. *Advances in Environment, Behaviour and Design* 4:109-147.

Canuto, M., and Yaeger, J., eds. 2000. *The Archaeology of Communities*. Routledge, London.

Carlton, R., and Roberts, I. 2014. Archaeology and oral history in Northumberland. *Historical Archaeology* 48(1):46-59.

Casella, E. C., and Croucher, S. 2010. *The Alderley Sandhills Project: An Archaeology of Community Life in (Post-) Industrial England*. Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Casella, E. C. 2012. 'That's just a family thing, you know': memory, community kinship, and social belonging in the Hagg Cottages of Cheshire, North-West England. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 16(2):284-299.

Chatterjee, H., and Noble G. 2013. *Museums, Health and Well-being*. Routledge, London.

Chalklin, C. W. 1974. *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England: A Study of the Building Process 1740-1820*. Edward Arnold, London.

Chapman, S. D. 1971. Introduction, in *The History of Working Class Housing: A Symposium*, Chapman, S. D., ed., pp. 9-12. David and Charles, Newton Abbot.

Cheung, W. Y., Wildschut, T., Sedikides, C., Hepper, E. G., Arndt, J., and Vingerhoets, A. J. J. M. 2013. Back to the future: nostalgia increases optimism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 39:1484-1496.

Clark, G. 2002. Shelter from the storm: housing and the industrial revolution 1550-1909. *Journal of Economic History* 62(2):489-511.

Confino, A. 1997. Collective memory and cultural history: problems of method. *American History Review* 102(5):1386-1403.

Connelly, P. A. 2010. Three is the magic number! An update on the Hungate excavations. *Yorkshire Archaeology Today* 18:1-4.

Connelly, P. A. 2011. Flush with the past: An insight into late nineteenth-century Hungate and its role in providing a better understanding of urban development. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 15(4):607-616.

Connelly, P. A. 2018. Solid and ephemeral: the dichotomy at the heart of the archaeology of clearance in 1930's York. Paper given at the *Society for Historical Archaeology* conference in New Orleans.

Connerton, P. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Connerton, P. 2008. Seven types of forgetting. *Memory Studies* 1(1):59-71.

Convery, I., Corsane, G., and David, P. 2014. *Displaced: Heritage Responses to Disaster, Trauma and Loss*. Boydell & Brewer Ltd, Suffolk, England.

Cooper, A., and Thomas, Y. 2012. 'The age of innocence' personal histories of the 1960s 'digging circuit' in Britain. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 16(2):300-318.

Cosson, F. 2013. 'A Knowledge of local history seems to be a very worthwhile thing': community, heritage and identity in Irthlingborough, 1840-2008, PhD thesis, University of Northampton.

Crosby, T. 2007. Housing the workforce. *Brewery History* 124(5):3-14.

Crosby, T., Garwood, A., and Corder-Birch, A. 2008. Workers housing in Essex. *Industrial Archaeology Review* 30(2):101-125.

Crow, G. 2008. Thinking about families and communities over time, in *Researching Families and Communities*, Edwards, R., ed., pp. 11-24. Routledge, Abingdon.

Cruikshank, J. 2000. *The Social Lives of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory*. University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

Cruikshank, J., and Argounova-Low, T. 2013. 'On' and 'off' the record in shifting times and circumstances, in *Oral History off the Record: Towards an Ethnography of Practice*, Sheftel, A., and Zembrzycki S., eds., pp 185-171. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Dalglish, C. 2004. M74 Completion: Cultural Heritage Evaluation, Phase II, part 1, Research Context, project 1600 (unpublished report), Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division

Dalglish, C., Driscoll, S. T. 2004. M74 Completion: Cultural Heritage Evaluation, Phase II, part 4: site-by-site assessment and mitigation proposals, project 1600 (unpublished report), Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division.

Daunton, M. J. 1983. *House and Home in the Victorian City: Working Class Housing 1850-1914*. Edward Arnold, London.

Daunton, M. J. 1990. Introduction, in *Housing the Working-Class*, *1850-1914: A Comparative Perspective*, Daunton, M.J., ed., pp 1-31. Leicester University Press, Great Britain.

Davis, S. 1995. *The Architecture of Affordable Housing*. University of California Press, California.

De Figueiredo, P. 2014. 29-35 Pembroke Place, Liverpool: Heritage Statement (unpublished report).

Dennis, R. 1986. *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century: A Social Geography*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Devine-Wright, P., and Clayton, S. 2010. Introduction: place, identity and environmental behaviour. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 30:267-270.

Dewhurst, L. 1989. Housing the workforce: a case study of West Yorkshire, 1750-1900. *Industrial Archaeology Review* 11(2):117-135.

Drew, D. 2011. *The Glasgow we Used to Know: The Archaeology of the M74 Motorway Completion Project in Glasgow and South Lanarkshire*. HAPCA (Headland Archaeology and Pre-Construct Archaeology).

Dwyer, E. 2014. Historical and contemporary archaeologies of social housing: changing experiences of the modern and new, 1870-present. PhD thesis. University of Leicester.

Dyos, H. J. 1967. The slums of Victorian London. *Victorian Studies* 11(1):5-40.

English Heritage. 2008. Conservation principles, policies and guidance for the sustainable management of the historic environment. English Heritage.

European Association of Archaeologists. 2017. EAA Codes and Principles.

Evans, D. T. 2004. Land adjacent to St Saviour's church, Hungate, York: a report on an archaeological excavation. Report number 2004/68, York Archaeological Trust.

Evans, D. 2007a. Areas A, B and C, Hungate development, York: a report on an archaeological watching brief. Report number 2007/12, York Archaeological Trust.

Evans, D. 2007b. Pre-piling probes block A, B and C, Hungate development, York: a report on an archaeological watching brief. Report number 2007/32, York Archaeological Trust.

Evans, D. 2007c. Block D, Hungate development, York: a report on an archaeological evaluation. Report number 2007/52, York Archaeological Trust.

Evans, E. 1956. *Ask the Fellows Who Cut the Hay*. Faber and Faber, London.

FARO Convention. 2005. Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society.

Fentress, J., and Wickham, C. 1992. *Social Memory*. Blackwell Oxford.

Fernandez, J. F., and Moshenska, G. 2017. Spanish civil war caves of Asturias in archaeology and memory. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 23(1):14-28.

Feuchtwang, S. 2003. Loss: transmissions, recognitions, authorisations, in *Regimes of Memory*, Radstone, S., and Hodgkin, K., eds., pp. 76-95. Routledge, London.

Finneran, N. 2009. Settlement archaeology and oral history in Lasta, Ethiopia: Some preliminary observations from a landscape study of Lalibela, Azania. *Archaeological Research in Africa* 44(3):281-291.

Flinn, M. W. 1965. Introduction, in *Report of the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, Chadwick, E., 1845., pp. 1-73. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

Foucault, M. 1977. *Language, counter-memory, practice*. Cornell University Press, New York.

Forster, C. A. 1972. *Court Housing in Kingston upon Hull: An example of cyclic processes in the morphological development of nineteenth-century bye-law housing*. University of Hull, Occasional papers in Geography no 19.

Frankenberg, R. 1966. *Communities in Britain*. Penguin, Hammersmith.

Fried, M. 1963. Grieving for a lost home, in *The Urban Condition*, Duhl, L. J., ed., pp. 151-171. Basic Books, New York.

Gaskell, S. M.1990. *Slums*, Leicester University Press, Leicester.

Gauldie, E. 1974. *Cruel Habitations: A History of Working-Class Housing 1780-1918*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, London.

Gilbert, A. 2007. The return of the slum: does language matter? *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 31(4):697-713.

Giles, K. and Rees Jones S. 2011. Poverty in depth: new international perspectives, *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 15(4):544-552.

Gillott, E. 2010. A cast iron legacy: remembering the roots of an industrial village in Nottinghamshire, in *Footprints of Industry: Papers from the 300th Anniversary Conference at Coalbrookdale*, Belford, P., Palmer, M., and White, R., eds., pp. 107-114. 3-7 June 2009, BAR British Series, Archaeopress, Oxford.

Glassberg, D. 1996. Public history and the study of memory. *The Public Historian* 18(2):7-23.

Good, F. 2016. Voice, ear and text: words, meaning and transcription, in *The Oral History Reader*, Perks, R., and Thomson, A., eds., pp.458-469. Routledge, London.

Greaney, M. 2013. *Liverpool: A Landscape History*. The History Press, Stroud.

Green, A. 2004. Individual remembering and 'collective memory': theoretical presuppositions and contemporary debates, *Oral History* 32(2):35-44.

Gregory, R. A., Raynor, C., Adams, M., Philpott, R., Howard-Davis, C., Johnson, N., Hughes, V., and Higgins, D. A. 2014. *Archaeology at the Waterfront: Investigating Liverpool's Historic Docks*. Oxford Archaeology North, Lancaster.

Gustafson, P. 2001. Meanings of place: everyday experience and theoretical conceptualisations. Journal *of Environmental Psychology* 21:5-16.

Halbwachs, M. 1992. *Collective Memory*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Hayton, S. 1998. The archetypal Irish cellar dweller. *Manchester Region History Review* 12:66-77.

Herrmann, E. W., Nathan, R. A., Rowe, M. J., and McCleary, T. P. 2017. Bacheeishdiio (place where men pack meat). *American Antiquity* 82(1):151-167.

High, S. 2016. Mapping memories of displacement: oral history, memoryscapes and mobile methodologies, in *The Oral History Reader*, Perks, R., and Thomson, A., eds., pp. 556-568, Routledge.

Hiner, H. 2018. Putting the archive in movement, in *Beyond Women's Words: Feminisms and the Practices of Oral History in the Twenty-First Century*, Srigley, K., Zembrzycki, S., and Lacovetta, F., eds., pp. 204-216. Routledge, London.

Hirsch, M. 1997. *Family Frames: Photographs, Narrative and Post Memory*. Harvard University Press, London.

Hodgkin, K., and Radstone S. 2003. *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory*. Routledge, London.

Hoelscher, S., and Alderman, D. H. 2004. Memory and place: geographies of a critical relationship. *Social and Cultural Geography* 5(3):347-355.

Hoskins, J. 1998. *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives*. Routledge, London.

Howarth, K. 1999. *Oral History: A Handbook*. Sutton, Stroud.

Hughes, S. R. 2000. *Copperopolis: landscapes of the early industrial period in Swansea.* Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monument of Wales, Aberystwyth.

Hughes, S. 2004. Social archaeology: a possible methodology for the study of workers' settlements based in the eighteenth and nineteenth century copper industry of Swansea, in *The Archaeology of Industrialisation*, Barker, D., and Cranstone, D., eds., pp. 137-153. Maney Publishing, Leeds.

Hunter-Mann, K. 2008a. Block D, trench D4, Hungate development, York: a report on an archaeological excavation. Report number 2008/01, York Archaeological Trust.

Hunter-Mann, K. 2008b. Block E, Hungate development, York: a report on an archaeological excavation. Report number 2008/02, York Archaeological Trust.

Huyssen, A. 2011. International human rights and the politics of memory: limits and challenges. *Criticism* 53(4):607-624.

James, D. 1997. Meat packers, peronists, and collective memory: a view from the south. *American History Review* 102(5):1404-1412.

James, N. 2009. Public relations for industrial archaeology. *Antiquity* 83(320):518-520.

Janovicek, N. 2013. 'If you'd told me you wanted to talk about the '60's, I wouldn't have called you back': reflections of collective memory and the practice of oral

history, in *Oral History off the Record: Towards an Ethnography of Practice*, Sheftel, A., and Zembrzycki, S., eds., pp 185-199. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Johnson, M. 2010. *English Houses 1300-1800*. Pearson Education Limited, Harlow.

Jones, S., and Russell, L. 2012. Archaeology, memory and oral tradition: an introduction. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 16(2):267-283.

Jones, S. 2012. 'Thrown like chaff in the wind': Excavation, memory and the negotiation of loss in the Scottish Highlands. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 16(2):346-366.

Kasabova, A. 2008. Memory, memorials and commemoration. *History and Theory* 47(3):331-350.

Kearns, G., Laxton, P., and Campbell, J. 1993. Duncan and the cholera test: public health in mid nineteenth-century Liverpool. *Transactions Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 143:87-115.

Kingo, O. S., Bohn, A., and Krojgaard, P. 2013. Warm-up questions on early childhood memories affect the reported age of earliest memories in late adolescence. *Memory* 21(2), 280-284.

Kiddey, R. 2017. *Homeless Heritage: Collaborative Social Archaeology as Therapeutic Practice*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Klein, K. L. 2000. On the emergence of memory in historical discourse. *Representations* 69:127-150.

Knox, D. 2008. Spectacular tradition: Scottish folksong and authenticity. *Annals of Tourism Research* 35(1):255-273.

Koskinen-Koivisto, E., and Thomas, S. 2017. Lapland's dark heritage: responses to the legacy of World War II, in *Heritage in Action*, Silverman, H., Waterton, E., and Watson, S., eds., pp 121-133. Springer, Cham.

Kozlovsky, R. 2013. *The architectures of childhood: children, modern architecture and reconstruction in Post War Britain*. Ashgate, London.

Landsberg, A. 1995. Prosthetic memory: Total Recall and Blade Runner, in *Cyberspace/cyberbodies/cyberpunk: cultures of technological embodiment*, Featherstone, M., and Burrows R., eds., pp. 175-189. Sage, London.

Larsen, S. E. 2011. Memory constructions and their limits. *Orbis Litterarum* 66(6):448-467.

Lay, A. J. 2000. *A History of Building Control in England and Wales 1840-1990*. RICS Books, Coventry.

Leccardi, C. 2016. Memory, time and responsibility, in *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies*, Tota, A. L., and Hagan, T., eds., pp. 109-120. Routledge, London.

Lefebvre, H. 1971. *Everyday Life in the Modern World*. Athlone Press, London. Reprinted in 2000.

Lennon, J. J., and Foley, M. 2000. *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*. Cengage Learning EMEA, UK.

Lewicka, M. 2010. What makes neighbourhood different from home and city? Effects of place scale on place attachment. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 30(1):35-51.

Lewicka, M. 2011. Place attachment: how far have we come in the last 40 years? *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 31(3):207-230.

Lilley, S. 2015. 'Cottoning On' to workers' housing: A historical archaeology of industrial accommodation in the Derwent Valley. PhD thesis, University of York.

Lilley, S. 2015. Housing the industrious workforce. Theoretical Archaeology Group conference, Bradford, UK, https://www.antiquity.ac.uk/sites/default/files/downloads/tag/TAG_2015_abstracts.pdf.

Liston, J., and Rieth, T. M. 2010. Palau's petroglyphs: archaeology, oral history and iconography. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 119(4):401-414.

Little, B. J. ed. 1992. *Text-Aided Archaeology*. CRC Press, Boca Raton.

Lowe, J. 2005. The value of oral history in the recording of buildings. *The Archaeologist* 55:27.

Lowenthal, D. 2015. *The Past is a Foreign Country-Revisited*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Lyon, D., and Crow, G. 2012. The challenges and opportunities of re-studying community on Sheppey: young people's imagined futures. *The Sociological Review* 60:498-517.

Lyon, R. 2014. Untitled memoir and collection of poems (unpublished).

Lyons, N., Dawson, P., Walls, M., Uluadluak, D., Angalik, L., Kalluak, M., Kigusiutuak, P., Kiniski, L., Karetak, J., and Suluk, L. 2010. Person, place, memory, thing: how Inuit elders are informing archaeological practice in the Canadian North. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 34(1):1-31.

Macnab, N. 1999. Hungate, York, Report on an archaeological desk-top study. Report number 1999/32, York Archaeological Trust.

Mah, A. 2010. Memory, uncertainty and industrial ruination: Walker Riverside, Newscastle Upon Tyne. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 34(2):398-413.

Marshall, Y. 2002. What is community archaeology? *World Archaeology* 34(2):211-219.

Mason, O. K. 2012. Memories of warfare: archaeology and oral history in assessing the conflict and alliance model of Ernest S Burch. *Arctic Anthropology* 49(2):72-93.

Mason, R. 2000. Archaeology and native North American traditions. *American Antiquity* 65(2):239-266.

Massey, D. 1995. Places and their pasts. *History Workshop Journal* 39:182-192.

Matthews, K. J. 1998. Familiarity and contempt: the archaeology of the 'modern', in *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain*, Tarlow, S., and West, S., eds., pp. 155-79. Routledge, London.

Maver, I. 2000. *Glasgow*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

Mayne, A., and Lawrence, S. 1999. Ethnographies of place: a new urban research agenda. *Urban History* 26(3):325-348.

Mayne, A., and Murray, T., eds. 2001. *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes: Explorations in Slumland*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Mayne, A., and Murray, T. 2001. The archaeology of urban landscapes: explorations in slumland. in *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes: Explorations in Slumland*, Mayne, A. and Murray, T., eds., pp. 1-7, Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Mayne, A. 2011. Beyond metrics: reappraising York's Hungate "slum". *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 15(4):553-562.

McAtackney, L. 2014. *An Archaeology of the Troubles: The Dark Heritage of Long Kesh/Maze Prison*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

McDonnell, J. A. 2003. Documenting cultural and historical memory: oral history in the National Park Service. *The Oral History Revie*w 30(2):99-109.

McKechnie, I. 2015. Indigenous oral history and settlement archaeology in Barkley Sound, Western Vancouver Island. *BC Studies* 187:193-228.

McLean, S. 2017. *Fictionalizing Anthropology: Encounters at the Edges of the Human*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Miller, I., and Wild, C. 2015. *"Hell Upon Earth" The Archaeology of Angel Meadow*. Oxford Archaeology Ltd, Lancaster.

Milstead, I. 2008. Focal building, Hungate development, York: a report on an archaeological excavation. Report number 2008/05, York Archaeological Trust.

Moreland. J. 2001. *Archaeology and Text*. Bristol Classical Press, Bristol.

Moreland, J. 2006. Archaeology and texts: subservience or enlightenment. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35:135-151.

Morris, M., and Ashton, J. 2007. *The Pool of Life: A Public Health Walk in Liverpool*. The Bluecoat Press, Liverpool.

Morton, D., Walker, D., and Gardner, L. 2008. M74 Public Archaeology Programme Evaluation Report (unpublished report). *please note, the oral historian on the project was David Walker.

Morton, D. 2009. Involving the public in Glasgow's industrial archaeology: the M74 dig. *The Archaeologist* 74:36-37.

Moshenska, G. 2006. Scales of memory in the archaeology of the second world war, *Institute of Archaeology, UCL,* 17:58-68.

Moshenska, G. 2007. Oral history in historical archaeology: excavating sites of memory. *Oral History* 35(1):91-97.

Moshenska, G. 2010. Gas masks: material culture, memory, and the senses. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 16(3):609-628.

Moshenska, G. 2018. *Material cultures of childhood in Second World War Britain*. Routledge, London.

Mullins, P. R. 2014. The rhetoric of things: historical archaeology and oral history. *Historical Archaeology* 48(1):105-109.

Murray, T., and Mayne, A. 2001. Imaginary landscapes: reading Melbourne's "Little Lon". in *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes: Explorations in Slumland*, Mayne, A. and Murray, T., eds., pp. 1-7, Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Museum of London Archaeology. 1990. *Archaeological Site Manual*. 3rd Edition, Museum of London, London.

Mytum, H., Newman, C., Lilley, S. 2017. Archaeologies of workers' housing. *Society for Historical Archaeology* conference, Fort Worth, Texas, https://sha.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/2017-Conference-on-Historical-and-Underwater-Archaeology-Abstract-Book.pdf

National Park Service. (1990). National Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act.

New Zealand Archaeological Association. 1993. The Constitution.

Newman, C., and Newman, R. 2008. Housing the workforce in nineteenth century East Lancashire. *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 42(1):181-200.

Nevell, M. 2002. *Manchester: The Hidden History*. History Press, Stroud.

Nevell, M. 2011. Living in the industrial city: housing quality, land ownership and the archaeological evidence from industrial Manchester, 1740-1850. International Journal of Historical Archaeology 15(4):594-606.

Nevell, M. 2014. Legislation and reality: the archaeological evidence for sanitation and housing quality in urban workers' housing in the Ancoats area of Manchester between 1800 and 1950. *Industrial Archaeology Review* 36(1):48-74.

Nevell, M. 2016. *The Birth of Industrial Glasgow: The Archaeology of the M74*. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Nora, P. 1989. Between memory and history: les lieux de memoire. *Representations: Special Issue, Memory and Counter Memory* 26:7-24.

Olick, J. K., and Robbins, J. 1998. Social memory studies: from "collective memory" to the historical sociology of mnemonic practices. *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:105-140.

Olick, J. K., Vinitzky-Seroussi, V., and Levy, D., eds. 2011. *The Collective Memory Reader*. Oxford University Press. New York

Oral History Association. 2017. Principles and best practices. www.oralhistory.org/about/principles-and-practices/

Oral History Society. 2017. Is your oral history legal and ethical? www.ohs.org.uk/advice/ethical-and-legal/

Orser Jr, C. E. 2010. Twenty-first-century historical archaeology. *Journal of archaeological research* 18:111-150.

Orser, Jr, C. E. 2011. The archaeology of poverty and the poverty of archaeology. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 15(4):533-543.

Orser Jr, C. E. 2017. *Historical Archaeology*. 3rd edition, Routledge, London.

Pahl, R. 2005. Are all communities communities in the mind? *The Sociological Review* 53(4):621-640.

Palmer, M., and Neaverson, P. 2005. *The Textile Industry of South West England. A Social Archaeology*, Tempus, Stroud.

Perks, R., and Thompson, A., eds. 2016. *The Oral History Reader*. Routledge, London.

Pevsner, N. 1943. Model houses for the labouring classes. *Architectural Review* 93:119-128.

Philpott, R. A. 2008a. Roman Merseyside: twenty-five years on. *Journal of Merseyside Archaeological Society* 12:27-60.

Philpott, R. A. 2008b. Medieval Settlement in Merseyside. *Journal of Merseyside Archaeological Society* 12:69-86.

Pollard, S. 1964. The factory village in the industrial revolution. *The English Historical Review* 79(312):513-531.

Pooley, C. G. 1985. Housing for the poorest poor: Slum clearance and rehousing in Liverpool, 1890-1918. *Journal of Historical Geography* 11(1):70-88.

Pooley, C. G. 2006. Living in Liverpool, in *Liverpool 800: Character, Culture and History*, Belcham, J., ed., pp. 171-255. Liverpool University Press, Liverpool.

Pooley, C. G., and Irish, S. 1994. Housing and Health in Liverpool, 1870-1940. *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 143:193-219.

Portelli, A. 1981. The peculiarities of oral history. *History Workshop Journal* 12(1):96-107.

Portelli, A. 1997. *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*. University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin.

Purser, M. 1992. Oral history and historical archaeology, in *Text-Aided Archaeology*, Little, B. J., ed., pp. 165-171. CRC Press, Boca Raton.

Rees, R. 2001. *Poverty and Public Health 1815-1948*. Heinman Educational Publishers, New Hampshire.

Register of Professional Archaeologists. 2017. Codes and Standards. https://rpanet.org/page/CodesandStandards

Relph, E. 1976. *Place and Placelessness*. Pion Limited, London.

Riley, M., and Harvey, D. 2005. Landscape archaeology, heritage and the community in Devon: an oral history approach. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 11(4):269-288.

Rimmer, J. 2011. People and their buildings in the working-class neighbourhood of Hungate, York. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 15(4):617-628.

Rimmer, W. G. 1960. *Marshalls of Leeds Flax Spinners 1788-1886*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Roberts, R. 1971. *The Classic Slum. Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century*. Penguin, London, reprinted in 1990.

Rodger, R. 1989. *Scottish Housing in the Twentieth Century*. Continuum International Publishing Group, London and New York.

Rodger, R. 1995. *Housing in Urban Britain 1780-1914*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Rubenstein, D. 1974. *Victorian Homes*. Newton Abbot, London.

Salcedo, E. 2007. Liftshaft excavations block A, B, C, Hungate development, York: A report on a small-scale archaeological excavation. Report number 2007/29, York Archaeological Trust.

Samuel, R. 1994. *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*. Verso Books, New York. Reprinted in 2012.

Saul, S. B. 1962. House building in England 1890-1914. *The Economic History Review* 15(1):119-137.

Scanlan, S. 2004. Introduction: nostalgia. *Iowa Journal of Cultural studies* 5:3-9.

Scannell, L., and Gifford, R. 2010. Defining place attachment: a tripartite organizing framework. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 30:1-10.

Schmidt, P. R. 1990. Oral traditions, archaeology and history: a short reflective history in Africa, in: *A History of African Archaeology*, Robertshaw, P. ed., pp. 252-270. James Currey, England.

Scott, D. D. 2003. Oral tradition and archaeology: conflict and concordance examples from two Indian war sites. *Historical Archaeology* 37(3):55-65.

Shamai, S. 1991. Sense of place: an empirical measurement. *Geoforum* 22(3):347-358.

Shaw, C., and Chase, M., eds. 1989. *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia*. Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Sheftel, A., and Zembrzycki. S. eds. 2013. *Oral History off the Record*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Smith, G. 2016. Remembering in groups: negotiating between the 'individual' and 'collective' memories, in: *The Oral History Reader*, Perks, R., and Thomson, A., eds, pp. 193-211. Routledge, London.

Sodaro, A. 2018. *Exhibiting Atrocity: Memorial Museums and the Politics of Past Violence*. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick.

Solari, E. M. 2001. The making of an archaeological site and the unmaking of a community in West Oakland, California, in *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes: Explorations in* Slumland, Mayne, A., and Murray, T., eds., pp. 22-38. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Steel, J. 1997. *The Streets of London: The Booth Notebooks, South East*. Deptford Forum Publishing Ltd, London.

Steffel, V. R. 1979. Review essay: The housing question and urban history, Britain 1740-1918. *Journal of Urban History* 6(1):112-119.

Stewart, E. J. 2019. *Courts and alleys: a history of Liverpool courtyard housing*. Liverpool University Press, Liverpool.

Stone, P. 2006. A dark tourism spectrum: towards a typology of death and macbre related tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions. *Tourism: An Interdisciplinary International Journal* 54(2):145-160

Sutcliffe, A. 1972. Working class housing in nineteenth century Britain: a review of recent research. *Society for the Study of Labour History* 24:40-47.

Symonds, J. 2002. *The historical archaeology of the Sheffield cutlery and tableware industry 1750-1900*. Arcus Studies in Historical Archaeology 1, Basingstoke Press, Sheffield.

Symonds, J. 2011. The poverty trap: or, why poverty is not about the individual. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 15(4):563-571.

Tarn, J. N. 1971. *Working-Class housing in Nineteenth Century Britain*. Lund Humphries Publishers Limited, London.

Tarn, J. N. 1973. *Five Per Cent Philanthropy: An Account of Housing in Urban Areas Between 1840 and 1940*. CUP, London.

Taylor, I. C. 1970. The court and cellar dwelling: the eighteenth-century origin of the Liverpool slum. *Transactions Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 122:67-90.

Thompson, G. 1920. *Modern Sanitary Engineering Part 1: House Drainage*. 2nd Edition, Constable, London.

Thompson, P. 2000. *The Voice of the Past*, 3rd edition. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Timmins, G. 2000. Housing quality in rural textile colonies 1800-1850: the Ashworth settlements revisited. *Industrial Archaeology Review* 22(1):21-37.

Timmins, G. 2013. Housing industrial workers during the 19th century: back-to-back housing in textile Lancashire. *Industrial Archaeology Review* 35(2):111-127.

Tuan, Y. 1974. *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values*. Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Tully, G. 2007. Community archaeology: general methods and standards of practice. *Public Archaeology* 6(3):155-187.

Tustin, K., and Hayne, H. 2019. Recollection improves with age: children's and adults' accounts of their childhood. *Memory* 27(1):92-102.

Van Dyke, R. M., and Alcock, S. E., eds. 2003. *Archaeologies of Memory*. Blackwell, Oxford.

Walker, J., Beaudry, M., and diZerega Wall, D. 2011. Poverty in depth: a new dialogue. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 15(4):629-636.

Walton, J. K., and Wilcox, A. 1991. *Low Life and Moral Improvement in Mid-Victorian England: Liverpool through the journalism of Hugh Shimmin*. Leicester University Press, Leicester.

Wang, Q., and Peterson, C. 2016. The fate of childhood memories: children post dated their earliest memories as they grew older. *Frontiers in Psychology: Cognition* 6: 1-7.

Wang, Q., and Gulgoz, S. 2019. New perspectives on childhood memory: introduction to the special issue. *Memory* 27(1):1-5.

Watkins, J. 2000. *Indigenous Archaeology: American Indian Values and Scientific Practice*. Altamira, Walnut Creek.

Webster, J., and Tolson, L. 2014. The artefact as interviewer: experimenting with oral history at the Ovenstone miners' cottages site, Northumberland. *Historical Archaeology* 48(1):11-29.

Will, R. S., and Kennedy, P. 2004. Govan Iron Works: Phase II evaluation (unpublished report) Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division.

Williamson, E., Riches, A., and Higgs, M. 1990. *The Buildings of Scotland: Glasgow*, Yale University Press. New Haven and London.

Wilson, J. 2007. *Rich in all but Money: Life in Hungate 1900-1938*. York Archaeological Trust, Oral history series 1.

Wohl, A. S. 1977. *The Eternal Slum: Housing and Social Policy in Victorian London*. Edward Arnold, London.

Worsdall, F. 1979. *The Tenement: A Way of Life: A Social, Historical and Architectural Study of Housing in Glasgow*. W and R Chambers, Edinburgh.

Worsdall, F. 1981. *The City that Disappeared: Glasgow's Demolished Architecture*. Molendinar Press, Glasgow.

Yamin, R. ed. 2002. *Tales of Five Points: Working-Class Life in Nineteenth Century New York*. Volume 7, John Milner Associates, West Chester.

Yerushalami, Y. H. 1989. *History and Jewish Memory*. Schocken, New York.

York Archaeological Trust. 2005. York Archaeological Trust field work manual (revised).

Yow, V. 2016. Interviewing techniques and strategies, in *The Oral History Reader*, Perks, R., and Thomson, A., eds., pp. 153-178. Routledge, London.

Zarankin, A., and Salerno, M. A. 2008. “Looking south”: historical archaeology in South America. *Historical Archaeology* 42(4):38-58.

Zerubavel, E. 1996. Social memories: steps to a sociology of the past. *Qualitative Sociology*. 19(3):283-299.

Legislation

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2007

National Park Service. 1990. National Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act.

Ontario Heritage Act R S O 1990

From www.legislation.gov.uk;

Royal Commission for Inquiries into the State of Large Towns and Populous Districts. 1844.

Towns Improvements Clauses Act 1847

Public Health Act 1848

Nuisances Removal and Diseases Prevention (Amendment) Act 1855

Sanitary Act 1866

Artisans and Labourers Dwelling Act 1868

Public Health Act 1875

Public Health (Water) Act 1878

Public Health Act 1875 (support of sewers) Amendment Act 1883

Housing of the Working Classes Act 1885

Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes 1885

Metropolitan Streets Act 1885

Public Health Amendment Act 1890

Housing of the Working Classes Act 1890

Congested Districts (Scotland) Act 1897

Public Health (Scotland) Act 1897

Metropolis Water Act 1897

District Councils (Water Supply Facilities) Act 1897

Liverpool Corporation Act 1902

Acquisition of Land (Assessment of Compensation) Act 1919

Housing, Town Planning Act 1919

Public Health Act 1925

Housing Act 1930

Housing Act 1936

Public Health Act 1936

Landlord and Tenant (War Damage) (Amendment) Act 1941

Water Act 1945

Housing (Financial Provisions) (Scotland) Act 1946

New Towns Act 1946

Public Utilities Street Works Act 1950

Town Development Act 1952

Housing Repairs and Rents Act 1954

Landlord and Tenant Act 1954

Housing Act 1957

House Purchase and Housing Act 1959

Housing Act 1961

Public Health Act 1961

Primary sources

Booth, C. 1889. *Life and Labour of the People*. London.

Booth, W. 1890. *In Darkest England and the Way Out*. Diggory Press, United Kingdom, reprinted in 2006.

Chadwick, E. 1842. *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, reprinted in 1965.

Coard, S. 1884. Light, pure air and water: how to obtain then. Northern Sanitary Association, Liverpool.

Disraeli, B. 1845. Sybil. John Lane, The Bodley Head, Great Britain, reprinted in 1927.

Duncan. W.H. 1843. *On the physical causes of the high rate of mortality in Liverpool*. The Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool.

Dunscombe, C. 1884. City Engineer Report. proceedings of the council, City of Liverpool, 847-864.

Edinburgh Review. 1896, December, 842.

Engels, F. 1845. *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Penguin, London, reprinted in 2009.

Gaskell, P. 1833. *The Manufacturing Population of England, its Moral, Social and Physical Conditions*. Baldwin and Cradock, London.

Glasgow Museums Collection, Govan Iron Works, painting by unknown artist, 1860. Glasgow Life.

Hare, T. 1864. *The facilities which the law may give for small investments in real property, and the means they would afford of improving the dwellings of the people, and the condition of the working classes.* Knowsley Pamphlet Collection, University of Liverpool.

Hargrove, W. 1818. *History and Description of the Ancient City of York*. York.

John Rylands Library. MSS 220-1. Cartulary of St Mary's Abbey, York.

Kay, J. 1832. *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Class Employed in Cotton Manufacture in Manchester*. James Ridgway, London.

London, J. 1903. *The People of the Abyss*. Hesperus Press Limited, London, reprinted in 2013.

Mayhew, H. 1851. *London Labour and the London Poor*. Wordsworth Classics of World Literature, Hertfordshire, reprinted in 2008.

Mitchell Library Archives 1/4 336, building control plan, 1896. Glasgow Life.

Newlands, J. 1848. Report to the Health Committee of the Borough of Liverpool on the Sewerage and other Works, under the Sanitary Act, Liverpool.

O'Mara P. 1933. *The Autobiography of a Liverpool Irish Slummy*. The Bluecoat Press, Liverpool, reprinted in 2009.

Pierce, W., Williams, O. A., and Murphy, J. 1884. *Letters of insanitary dwellings and the housing of the poor.* Liverpool Land and Home Owners Association, Liverpool.

Roberts, H. 1855. *The physical condition of the labouring classes, resulting from the state of their dwellings, and the beneficial effects of sanitary improvements recently adopted in England.* Knowsley Pamphlet Collection, University of Liverpool.

Rowntree, B. S. 1901. *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*. The Policy Press, Bristol, reprinted 2000.

Shimmin, H. 1864. *The courts and alleys of Liverpool*. The Porcupine.

Spectator. 1895, 9th March, 329.

Trench, W. S. 1863. Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health for Liverpool, Liverpool.

Wallace, J. 1794. *A General and Descriptive History of the Ancient and Present State of the Town of Liverpool*. J M Creery, Liverpool.

Explore York Libraries and Archives, YCA Acc 157 9.3, 10.3. Records relating to the compulsory purchase orders for Hungate.

Explore York Libraries and Archives, YCA Acc 157. 10.10. York Board of Health inspection record sheets 1901-10.

Accessioned oral history interviews

Scottish Oral History Centre Archives/023/23, M74 Oral History Project, interview with Marion Neil, Glasgow, 2008.

Scottish Oral History Centre Archives/023/23, M74 Oral History Project, interview with Christina Wilson, 2008.

Scottish Oral History Centre Archives/023/23, M74 Oral History Project, interview with Jane Sutherland, 2008.

Webpages

Transport Scotland http://www.transportscotland.gov.uk/projects/m74-completion/m74-dig accessed April 2012.

Yo Liverpool, www.yoliverpool.com/forum/showthread.php?4273-Pre-Slum-Clearances-Housing-Images/page4 accessed August 2013.

York Archaeological Trust, http://www.dighungate.com/ accessed January 2015.

Pitt Rivers Museum and Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Oxford, Architectures of Displacement, www.rsc.ox.ac.uk accessed July 2018.

Appendix

Appendix A: Museum of Liverpool oral/video interview note and deposit agreement, Museum of Liverpool.

ORAL / VIDEO HISTORY INTERVIEW NOTE AND DEPOSIT AGREEMENT

National Museums Liverpool is grateful for your kind help and co-operation in its recording programme. The purpose of this deposit agreement is to ensure that your contribution is added to the collections of National Museums Liverpool, in accordance with your wishes (as stated below) and within the rules of the 1988 Copyright Act.

All material will be preserved as part of our resource for future research and the form, once signed, ensures that the copyright of the recording belongs to National Museums Liverpool. Under the Data Protection Act, your personal details such as name and address will be stored by us (either on paper or electronically). However, we will not divulge these details to outside agencies.

1. Do you agree that National Museums Liverpool may use your contribution?
   - In public exhibitions, displays or performances YES/NO
   - On our websites YES/NO
   - For broadcasting purposes (radio or TV) YES/NO
   - For educational uses (school, college, university) YES/NO
   - For public record purposes YES/NO
   - As a source that may be published YES/NO

2. Do you agree to your name being mentioned?
YES/NO

3. May we use your contribution immediately, without any time restriction on its release. (If NO, please state time) YES/NO

4. Details of any other restriction that may apply:

Name of Interviewee:	
Nature of contribution:	
Address:	Date of Birth:
Signature of Interviewee:	Date:
Name and position of Interviewer:	
Signature of Interviewer:	Date:

Appendix B: Transcript of oral history interview with RL, on court housing in Liverpool, provided as an example, Museum of Liverpool.

Name: Mr Richard Lyon (RL)

Age: 87

D.O.B: 01/05/1926

Main Interest: Court Housing

Interview Location: Participants home

Interviewer: Kerry Massheder-Rigby (KMR) & Liz Stewart (LS)

Length of interview: 77.56

Access/Copyright status: Full

Accession number: TBC

00.00-09.59

[Chatting]

RL: I'll save that for after. [laughter]

KMR: Okay, I'm here with Mr Richard Lyon and his family. Can I ask you to give your full date of birth?

RL: Yes, it was the 1st May 1926.

KMR: Brilliant, thank you, just for the tape could I ask you both to introduce yourselves.

LL: Hi, I'm Louise, Richard's wife.

JL: And I'm Jan, Richard's youngest daughter.

KMR: Thanks, I'm Kerry Massheder-Rigby, and Liz Stewart, from the Museum of Liverpool. That's for when people listen back in the future, so they know exactly who is here. So, the first thing then is, could you just tell me a little bit about your neighbourhood around the court that you lived in.

RL: Yes, there was two houses left from what used to be the court and I think on this map, I was looking on this map, it ties in with the details of the map. The back houses to the court had all gone, and that was the space. The two toilets that was the end of the court was used by the two houses on the front that were left standing

– that was number 11 and number 13. Now, I'm into genealogy and I was looking at old records and that type of thing, so, it must have been some time before that that change was made. But, the houses that where at the back must have been similar. The makeup of our house and the house next door was similar to the houses that were still standing in the court at the back between Clegg Street and Iliad Street. Not all the court houses were the same but in that little area they were.

KMR: So, what was your address?

RL: 11 Prince Edwin Street.

KMR: Prince Edwin Street?

RL: And the other house standing that was part of the court was 13 and that's where the Brady's lived and the old lady…well…she was old, but she had a daughter and a son. And the son, he was a bin man. In those days the bins were a lot different than what they are now. From what I can remember, tin or metal type, you know? Quite big type of things. But, erm, where the houses had been were all concrete if you like, that type of thing. And, right at the back of that, there's the court that was part of the area between Clegg Street and Iliad Street. I noticed on your map there is another gap at the back and I have no memory of that so that must have gone. So, that second place which is there, and, there is a gap there, that's been another court, but that's been demolished.

LS: This is a slightly later map from the 1890's and you can see here it has developed into more like what you remember with your buildings and then that gap.

RL: Erm, yes, yeah, that's right. There is only the one gap at the back, yes. Hang on…no no…it's there, there is a gap at the back as well, but, it wasn't when I was there.

KMR: When you were born were your family living in the court at that time?

RL: Yes, those houses, quite a lot, had more than one family in them. My mum and dad got married in 1922 and she had one of her relatives, my mum's aunt, who was living further up in Prince Edwin Street. I think it might have been around Bereford Street or Clifton Street. And erm, she got the apartments in 11 Prince Edwin Street like. It was very congested, probably like some places in London now where you had to search for accommodation that type of thing. So, my father came from Walton, my mother came from Bootle, so they moved to that area and the church at the top was St. Ambrose's and that's where they got married and they were part and parcel of that erm, that area.

KMR: Do you know why they moved to that area?

RL: To get married. My father came from a reasonable family. His father had moved to Liverpool I think from Bickerstaff or outside, and he was a carter at first, his Grandfather was a carter, his son was a tradesman. He became a plumber and a painter and decorator. It's in those notes there. It was quite a big family. But he died very young of lead poisoning. Because the paint had loads of lead in it. He wasn't the only one to die from it because a lad working for the shop also died. And my father failed his medical for the First World War because of the same thing. But, he lived till he was 94…strange.

JL: But he didn't stay in the family business did he dad?

RL: No, no…

LL: [Mumbles]

RL: All the family were educated because it was quite a fore thinking family and Joseph sent them all to private schools in those days. It wasn't very built up and all that. But, my father was, I think it was Blackburn, he went there for a couple of years and didn't want to know; he came back, and that was it. He finished up a painter and decorator. But, all the other lads had other strings to the bow; they were plumbers and different things. In fact, he told me a tale once where I think one of his brothers was an Inspector for the Corporation and they had property, the family had property, and on top of that they opted out handyman service for other people around, and my dad was doing a job on this house and this woman wasn't very happy with the work and that type of thing so she sent for the Inspector and when the Inspector came, it was his brother!

[Everyone laughs]

RL: So, he had a say, he said, "The woman said to me, 'do you know that man? He looks very much like you?'" And they went and had their dinner together.

LL: So, your dad moved to living in the court houses, now, that was a big comedown….

RL: It was, it was…

LL: From where they were living.

RL: There was that to it. My mum came from a different family. They were more or less very destitute and that type of thing. And her mother, her father was a seaman he was away all the time and when he came back he didn't live very long, he worked

on the docks and he died when he was about forty something. So, the family was very destitute in that respect. I can remember when I came out of the navy and I was doing some work and I was put on a job to go and have a look at a place in Bootle where they were. And I went there and it was horrible. Really bad. Where they lived. You know? But after saying that she was a very determined character very similar to the [mumbles], you know? I put in that thing, if she had been a solicitor she would have won more cases than Perry Mason!

[Everyone laughs]

JL: So, they moved to the courts when they were newlywed then?

RL: So, they moved down and there was…in the house… there was an old lady living on her own and when I was about two, I can't remember it, it's been passed on.

10.00-19.59

RL: She knocked a lamp over, there was no electric in the houses, there was two gas lights downstairs, from what I can remember. There was one in the kitchen that was used a lot and one in the front room. But it was a meter and although we had gas in those…but we had no money so we could use the gas, type of thing. So, it was measured against that type of thing. Now, my father was in work when I was in born and he was in work up to, I think, I was about six of seven and then he was out of work for about five years until the war came and they was looking for men who were trying to get back into jobs. But, yes, that's part of the tale.

LL: I think something happened with the gas and the lady.

RL: Yes, I've gone off the tale of the lady, yes. She had a lamp in her room and she must have knocked it over in the night; set the house on fire and, I think, my dad did his best but he couldn't save her and she went into hospital and she never came back. That's when I was about two.

KMR: So, she lived in your family house?

RL: Yes, well she had been living in the house and they got apartments to it. That was the type of thing that happens. I don't know whether there was a family that lived with her and they moved out or she was on her own for some time, I don't know what happened there. But, the aunt of my mums, found us the accommodation and I think that's what they must have…I'm putting things together…I'm not sure of this…but I think what really happened was they was looking for accommodation,

had this aunt, the aunt found the accommodation, so they got married and went to live there.

KMR: Imagine you're giving us a tour of your house. Start with standing outside the front of the house. Just talk me through what the rooms were and what they were used for and who lived in them.

RL: Well, starting from the base there was a cellar and the front of the house there was three or four steps, I'm not sure, at one time I thought there was four now I'm thinking again, could have been three, so I'm not sure of that, but it was quite high up. We never used the cellar because it was always full of water. There was rails around and they were taken away when the war came because there were collecting all the iron and that type of thing, but it was quite dangerous without them because there was steps going down and in the dark anybody walking past fell down there they would get really hurt. But, like I say, we didn't use that. The upstairs was on the same level as the steps going up so there was a front room and a back room now they weren't very big I'd say they were roughly twelve by twelve and there was hall at the side which was…well…it wasn't as big as ours, but it was enough. I'd say probably three and a half foot, something like that. It led forward and the front room was on the left and there was stairs going upstairs to the next level and the kitchen from there and that led, there was a door at the side which would have been part of the court with steps the same as the front. So, then, when you get to the next floor, I think they were split up with an extra room on the next floor, I can't remember exactly. But, there was a front room which my mum and dad had but at the back of that there was two rooms because I had a sister who was in one and I shared the other one with my cousin who came with live with us. Above that there was these winding steps that went up to a loft, a garret they used to call them. And when I was very little I went up there, to be honest with you I didn't like it; the atmosphere was terrible. In fact, I kept my eyes on the floor when I was up there. And that was never used to my knowledge we never…it could have been used for storage, but it was never used as far as I can remember. But in those days people never used to have anything to store! [RL laughs].

JL: So where was the old lady, dad, who got burnt? Was she actually in your house or was she next door?

RL: No, she was actually in the house and she must have… I don't know because I was too young; she died when I was just two, but, she must have one of the

bedrooms for a start off and that's where she knocked the lamp over and got burnt. So, my mum and dad had one of the other bedrooms.

JL: So, they must have shared that house with her?

RL: Well she did do, yes. But, when she went, like I said, she didn't come out of hospital. She died in hospital.

KMR: So, how many brothers and sisters did you have?

RL: I just had one sister and my mum and dad. My mum had miscarriages I don't know how many. I know she had a least one. She had miscarriages. All the ladies at that time has miscarriages. My auntie Jane got married twice and she had, I think it was five or six to the first husband and only one survived, and, she died in childbirth in the second marriage. And, my uncle, his wife died in childbirth with the second child. So, it gives you some idea…

JL: If you think of your family and your brothers and sisters, dad. uncle Eddie came to live with you.

LL: That was auntie Jane's [son]; that lady that died in childbirth her child came to live and was brought up by nan and granddad.

RL: The stories end there. With regards to my cousin who came to live with us, when I was about…I must have been about three or four something like that, very young….we went to see my auntie Jane. Everybody used to walk in those days, although there were trams. But the trams were convenient for the main roads but if you had to go somewhere you couldn't go by tram you had to do it walking one way or another. Basically, you would end up by walking by the convenience of it. And when we was on a little bus we must have done…I can't remember…how many paying on it or anything, but I know we did it. She was living in Paxton Street and all those streets were sloped and our street went up, like that, up like a belly in the centre. But when you get to the next road they went up again and again type of thing. And, she was there living with Eddie and he had irons on his legs because he had rickets. And, I think when her husband died I think for a short time she came to live with us in our house just for a small time until she got married again, and then she got married again. But they did used to do that in those days. I think it was marry for convenience or whatever, just to survive type of thing. But, the family that she married to, they had grown up children and after she died Ted [Eddie] was getting mistreated by them so he run away from home and he came to us…… and, my mum, at the time, she wouldn't let him go back, so he came to live with us. But at the time of…

KMR: Are you Okay? [RL appears emotional at this point]

RL: Yes.

KMR: If you want to stop at any time just let me know.

RL: I was… I think… about six or seven I went for the policeman.

JL: His brothers came for him, didn't they? And they wouldn't let him go.

LL: They wanted him back because he had whatever it was…child allowance book that they used to draw. And that's why they wanted him back because they wanted [unclear]. There was no safeguarding in them days.

JL: They came looking for him, didn't they?

RL: But we just had a policeman come in the house and she wouldn't let them in the house when they came to the house.

20.00-29.59

RL: And the policeman said, "Let them in and I'll see that they go out". And he did that. And after all what went on you know…it finished up that…he stayed with us and they never ever bothered anymore. So that was it.

KMR: What was the age different between the two of you?

RL: He was five years older than me. I think he was eleven. He was eleven and I was about six. But I knew the policeman; he was nicknamed sally because he used to walk with a Salvation Army band.

[Everyone laughs]

KMR: Did you share a bedroom with your cousin?

RL: Yes. As we were growing up. When he was fourteen and he left school, he had all kinds of jobs. He had one job and he was coming home filthy, all oil and grease, and, me dad was still out of work because there was no work going around. When the what-you-call-it….the depression set in, unfortunately, me grandmother died there was just my dad working for what we used to call the shop.

LL: They had two shops didn't they?

RL: At one time they had two shops but for one reason or another, maybe it wasn't working or whatever. They had this shop, but, they couldn't afford to keep my dad working for them because the trade...everybody…jobs weren't getting done therefore there was no call for handyman and that type of thing. So, they had to let

him go. That was it he was on the dole type of thing. And he was just a painter; he wasn't a plumber or anything like that. But, even the plumbers were the same.

JL: So, you said Eddie was coming home dirty.

RL: Yes, so, Eddie told me this tale, I didn't know this, he told me when he was up here one time. He said they came along one day and he was under a wagon or something and they just came in and looked at him and that…oh that's right, they asked for him and they were taken to him and they said, "get your cards".

LL: He was the most inoffensive man, Pop they used to call him. He was lovely, he was, wasn't he?

JL: Yes.

LL: You wouldn't think he would have done something like that, would you?

JL: He just didn't like the way they were treating Eddie at work, was that what was happening?

LL: He was getting all the dirty jobs, as apprentices do, don't they?

RL: So, he came…but…he got a good job. Later on he had quite a few jobs.

JL: He worked for the Royal Insurance didn't he?

RL: Eventually he did but that was years after.

JL: And then he owned his own post office.

LL: [mumbles] Chesington Road.

RF: Yes. He got a good job working for some paper people. It wasn't Smiths, but it was like Smiths in those days. There used to be all kinds of comics and boy's books and that type of thing and he got working for them. He used to always bring me home freebies.

KMR: Did he live with you until they moved out and got married?

RL: Well, when he was about eighteen he was into the Boys Brigade, as we all were type of thing, he had mates and that, and he met a girl when he was about eighteen they started courting and he wanted to save up to get married so he went to live with her family. They had a shop, I think it was round Speller Lane way. So…but we still kept in touch with one another but he left home as you like. As a lad would do type of thing. Soon after that he went into the Navy because I think he was called up type of thing, you know.

KMR: How long did you live in the court for?

RL: Well…we lived in Prince Edwin Street until the blitz. When the blitz came around we didn't get any direct hits but windows kept getting blown out and that type of thing, and, eventually, we had some bad blasts and because of that…what they used to do was they used to put industrial glass instead of the ordinary glass in, you could see out of it you know, but everything was distorted.

LL: It was like that in our house.

RL: We had shutters. The old houses had shutters and what we used to do when they had blackouts was we'd close the shutters so when the glass broke the majority of it was outside anyway like. But after some other blasts we got a new house; we got a new house in Fonthill Road which was not very far away. One of the things through the neighbourhood was Great Homer Street, was a fantastic shopping centre and it was like a supermarket but about ten times better because they were all different trailers and they were all in competition with one another so in a short space of time you could do your shopping type of thing and, on top of that, because of the fact you didn't have fridges in those days the fresh stuff wouldn't last for long. People were very fussy, the money was not plentiful so what they bought had to be good quality, so they used to have, the shops, especially the meat shops and that type of place, would have like sales at the end of the day. Especially on a Saturday and that. So, the start off they'll be like "Who will give me so-much for this" and it would be a big crowd outside, you know? They'd sell, or they wouldn't sell it… if they didn't sell it the next time they come out it would be cheaper and cheaper. Like a lottery. So, if you didn't get there for the right time you missed out. But, on top of everything else, everyone knew everybody else. I used to know, after I got the policeman and that, I got all the jobs to with regards to messages and it did me a lot of good because people got to know me, and I got to know them you know, it all helped. So, I was just a hard-faced kid that they would put up with.

[Everyone laughs]

KMR: When you say messages, did you get paid to do it?

RL: Now and again you might get something. You never expected, but, you learned more from maths from doing that than I did in school, getting the change and that. And the fact of dealing with people because if you went on a message and you went somewhere and it wasn't of the quality that the person had sent you for you had to go back with it.

[Everyone laughs]

RL: Then you had like Ernie Brady next door. He used to get his collars done by the Chinese store because that was in Soho Street. So, you had to be careful that you had the right ticket, know what to say, how much, and be able to talk to the Chinese who were not very good at English. So, if you're talking in, you know, pidgeon English.

JL: Was Brady or his mum that had the parrot?

RL: Pardon?

JL: You said Ernie Brady, was it Mrs. Brady who had the…

RL: No, no, that was Mrs. Upton. That was on the other side, she was over the stable but the Brady's were on the left of us they were parked on the same house as ours. You know? Exactly the same. Downstairs we had, I don't know about the kitchen, I'm not too sure about the kitchen. In the front room I think we had the lino which was a luxury, and we had nothing on the stairs, nothing in the rooms.

KMR: Do you remember what you used your front room for?

RL: Well, the front room was used for mainly the living room, it was like a living room, you know? When we moved to Fonthill Road the front room was like a parlour the kitchen was the living room. We had a smaller room which was a side-kitchen with the yard outside. So, it's different.

JL: But when you were living in the courts you come through and you used to just sit in there.

RL: There were just two rooms, the front room and the other room.

LL: Did the other room have a sink in it?

RL: The kitchen, yes. I think there was a sink in the kitchen but there wasn't in the front room. There was a fire downstairs and I think there was a fire in the rooms upstairs, but they were never used.

LL: Unless you were ill or something.

30.00-39.59

RL: Another peculiarity of the time, I would say, which may not have come out in other chats with people…we were protestants, my best mate was a catholic but religion wasn't a problem to us at all. All we knew is that we went to different churches and different schools, but we played together and mixed together and that type of thing. But, the vicar in St. Ambrose was Mr. Pocock. He was a tall thin man. You were afraid of him, you had to be very careful. But, he brought coal to our

house. He used to call to the neighbours to see how they were, you never see it happen now like, but he'd go round all the houses and that. He brought coal to our house on occasion when we didn't have coal you know? Probably with my dad not working. He must have done it to other people as well. That's how close they were.

KMR: So, do you remember who your neighbours were? How many people lived in that house?

RL: In the Brady's they were all…there was no children in the Brady's. There was Ernest and erm, Mary-Anne, which was a lady, and the husband had died when I was…well he wasn't alive then and I can't remember her first name. We always knew her as Mrs. Brady type of…but they were grown up he worked on the bins he, was a bin man. She worked as well, she was a cleaner.

KMR: So, with there only being two houses left, you mentioned that there was space around, is that were you played, or did you go somewhere else?

RL: No, I didn't, because there was nobody there. When I played, I played out in Prince Edwin street and when I ended up in Clegg Street and that's where I met George. He was playing there from his court. But, what used to happen was women used to, women those days, well, there wasn't enough work for the men so they didn't work but they used to watch the kids. They'd watch the kids [or] it wouldn't matter, they'd watch the worst enemy of the women they couldn't get a long with, you know? Whatever, they would watch the children, that's how it was. Opposite us was a house with a barber's shop in the house and that was a Mr. Jackson. He used to have a pole coming out the front and I got my hair cut. They used to take you in, sit you on a chair. Some of the kids they used to give them a basin haircut, put a basin on their head and just cut round. I never ever got that to be honest.

[laughter]

KMR: Your house, I think you mentioned it before we started to record the interview, you mentioned about the toilets, could you just explain that again for me?

RL: There was this small brick unit at the very back of the yard. Now, that back of the yard would be near to this court house, there where George lived on the corner. And I don't think there was anything between that, I think there was just a wall that was the back of our wall and just this court here, and in this court besides the…I think George's address was in Clegg Street but his brother's was in the court on the opposite side, and on top of that court, there was a family called Twigg's and they had a lad, Charlie, which was about my age, Charlie Twigg. The toilet building, getting back to the toilet, was just a brick building and it was split in two and there

was, if you can imagine, a wood base going right across in between the two. It must have gone between the two and the hole in both of them and under the hole was the channel.

KMR: Do you remember any kind of flush?

RL: Oh yes. There was a chain from the top, yeah, and we had a string and newspapers with them all hanging on a nail on the side.

JL: They didn't have Andrex in them days!

KMR: And how about your water?

RL: Water was alright, we had water in the house, but it was cold.

KMR: So, to heat your water what would you…

RL: Kettle on the fire and when we had, when we had a bath day we would take a load of pans of water, it used to be once a week, and we'd have a big tin bath out and we always had the fire when that was going on, be by the fire.

KMR: Were you last in turn to have the water?

RL: I probably was. I can't remember but I think I was. Yes.

JL: The youngest in the bath [JL laughs].

KMR: The lowest in the pecking order for the wash?

LL: Yes!

JL: Yes!

JL: Can I get you another cup of tea?

LL: No, I'm alright thank you.

LS: So, was your fire like a range? Or sort of a small fire place that you used to heat the kettle?

RL: It wasn't very much of a range from what I can remember. I have actually got a photograph of the one that we moved to, and that's quite good if that's any use to you? It's in Fonthill Road, but it would have been the same at that time, but it wasn't a court house it was a different type of house. But, it shows you the range and the way the situation was. Another thing, about the doors in the house, you know the way we have got proper handles and things on the doors? Well, they used to have a latch that's similar to the yard latch outside; similar to that, if you go to one side you put your finger on it and lift it up.

LS: On the front door?

RL: No, this is the lounge. This is the inside door to the front room was like that. And after my dad had been out of work for some years he got a job on the ships. I think I was about eleven and my mum was able to get I think a sterlers cheque, or some cheques, and she got some clothes, and, I'm so excited I jumped up and the latch caught me [shows injury] and it wasn't a big deal but it cut me and I've still got the scar. Its one of those things it's not a big deal but it's the latch that I'm trying to explain, how I can remember.

LS: So, did you cook on that fire then?

JL: Would you like a piece of cake?

KMR: I'm good, thank you.

RL: Yes.

LS: Or was there a gas ring or anything like that?

RL: I can't remember a gas ring. We had two…gas in the front and gas in the kitchen. Now, the gas in the kitchen, I think I mentioned it there; the mantle was always getting broken I didn't know why. I've been thinking in recent times…put two and two together and made five, because it didn't have a globe on it. So, you only had to go near it, they were flimsy things, and it would break so you had to keep changing them. But, I can't remember any trouble with the gas although it would seem strange that so dangerous and that type of the thing, but I think it was because people didn't have the money. If the gas was turned on it wouldn't be on for very long because you had to put money in the meter all the time.

KMR: Can you tell us anything about the wider area? Things that you remember being there, like landmarks or shops?

RL: Yes, on the opposite side to us…well…yes…starting up from the very bottom of Prince Edwin Street there was a shop where I used to go to quite frequently. They used to sell cooked meats and bacon and stuff like that, and the man who had it…well his name was Billy Holmes…

40.00-49.59

RL: …you know? By full names. And, he got lots of trade. After that there was, coming up, this is from the bottom, there was a street shop called Cranes. The kids used to go without any money and say "I bags that", "I bags that", "I bags that, and I bags that".You can go in there and get some sweets, if you had the money.

KMR: Just out of interest, I went to William Henry Street recently and there's a shop there called Morris's and he's been in that shop since the early 60s and nothing has changed.

RL: It's so changed. I wouldn't recognise half of it, you know?

KMR: William Henry Street, here.

LL: Yes.

KMR: Just off Soho Street.

JL: I'll have to take you there dad.

KMR: The Friary is still there, I don't know if you remember that?

RL: Well… the name of the Friary confused me in some cases because I can remember in there used to be a school and a church, and it was catholic and we used to call that the friary because the Westbury's used to go there, I used to go to Great Nelson Street and that was the street before it so that's how I can remember.

KMR: Can I ask you about your feelings about the court house? Looking back do you feel a sort of pride that you lived in a court house? Or, are there any feelings of shame because…

RL: No, no, no, I think, as far as I'm concerned, my own concept is that I learned a lot from experiencing that type of thing. I wouldn't…no, I don't feel like that…I think it was different for a girl than it was for a boy. My sister wasn't very happy because she was mixing with girls and she was quite intelligent but, she was more of less in a round-about-way, life didn't give her much chance to be honest. When my dad was out of work we went to the Great Nelson Street School, which was just a primary school, you didn't even have to…everything was on slate and chalk and that type of thing, you didn't have nothing at all, you learned very little. The teachers did their best, but it was not on. When she was eleven, she took a test to move on to secondary school she passed them, but, she couldn't go because we couldn't afford the uniform. So, when I was eleven I couldn't take the test because my mum said to me, "If you take the test and you make it, they're not making a fool out of me again".

[LL and RL laugh]

RL: So, she had none of it.

LL: I think Margaret always resented that.

RL: So, she always had a chip on her shoulder about it.

KMR: Did you feel at the time like you were different form other families in the area because you lived in a court?

RL: No, we were all the same…we were all the same. Merely speaking it was like living in a family within a family because somehow or other, the way that I see it, nature or fate put certain people into the community and there was always somebody, you know, who you could go to, who could advise you or do something for you. It was all done spontaneously, it was not a case of payment or anything like that. Everything was friendly and helpful, that was the way we were. Talking more about Prince Edwin Street, after Scott's which was…well Scott's were open all the time and he used to do tick. So, like say for instance, you didn't have the money he would put it on the slate, and, you know? The only difference I would say was that you had to wait in the shop until the shop was empty because you couldn't go in the shop…in many cases the shop used to get quite few people in…so you would have to wait till the end of the serving and then you'd say, "mum said can we have this?", you know on tick? You'd get it and come away, you know? We would always get treated very well. And higher up from Scott's there was the paraffin oil shop Maggie Saxon's and she used to sell paraffin oil, candles; she used to do comics as well. The seaman used to bring American comics back and they'd finish up in Maggie Saxon's, and you could go with an old comic and a jam jar and change over for another comic and she was a nice lady, I think she used to like me. She let me have American comics just for…you know doing me a favour type thing. But they were all like that, friendly.

KMR: Were there any, what you would call, rich families or posh houses in your area?

RL: No, no, they were all much the same, type of thing. On the opposite side to us there were lodging houses, and, like I said, the barber's shop, Jackson's, then, a little bit higher up on the other side was a lemonade factory Edmonson's Full Swing. I've got a photograph on the corner of Iliad Street, where the shop is, with my sister when she was about fifteen or sixteen and there's one that's on the net which is exactly the same area and the same shop but it does…much has changed…after the blitz the area broke up round about where we were. I don't doubt that somebody came along and lived in the house that we were we in to be honest, for a short time at least, whilst it was still standing. But, it took a battering, you know?

KMR: Have you been back to the area as an adult?

RL: No, I haven't…well I couldn't get back…everybody moved out after the blitz and I went into the Navy when I was seventeen when I came home on leave and that type of thing there was none of my mates there, they were all younger people. I'm talking like Bill Westbury, his brother George was my mate, not Bill. When I came back I mixed with them because George was gone, that type of thing. But they moved to a cellar house, and that was just by Liverpool's ground and they moved by horse and cart when they moved because I can remember.

LL: Yes, they did. I can remember my dad moving out with a push cart [LL laughs] That was by St. Anne's Street.

RL: We must have horse and cart, but I can't remember it to be honest.

LL: We didn't have horse and cart then.

RL: After we moved to Kirkdale my mum used to go back to shop because they, the shopkeepers used to know her and in fact, I think she was in the change of life, my mum, and the blitz had been and that type of thing, and she wasn't her normal self. She was a very strong character at one time and I used to take her to a shop in Great Homer Street before I went to work as a lad, when I was about fourteen, fifteen. And, that was Mrs. Kane, that was the corner of Sherridon Street and Great Homer Street, she knew her type of thing; be in the shop she'd know them all chatting away, gassing, that type of thing. Used to stay there, she used to walk down, she was a tubby lady, for the time like, and, especially when my dad got work and that type of thing she would, half way down, after the blitz there was this cylinder, there's been a few, it's been in books and in the Echo and that. There's this cylinder…

50.00-59.59

RL: …and to my mind I think it was Arkwright Street, I'm not sure, but, it was…

JL: Was it not Great Homer Street?

RL: No, Arkwright Street runs off Great Homer Street. It's one of them streets going up, you see?

LL: Do you mean the house [mumbles] Because we used to see it, we'd pass it. We used to say "That's where doll sits" [LL laughs]

RL: And half way from Fonthill Road, she'd walk through Smith Street, right down the road, and half way down, she would sit on this big cylinder that came out of one of the houses when it was bombed. And then, she would have a rest then go on to the shops, get her shopping, come back, have a rest and a go home. She did that

for years. One day when the Echo came out there was a body in the cylinder. [RL laughs].

JL: A skeleton wasn't it? There is a picture of it in the Grapes pub in Matthew Street.

KMR: Really?

JL: Because I remember sitting there thinking what the hell is that thing my dad used to sit on?

RL: You'll never let her live it down! [RL laughs]

KMR: I wonder if they ever found out who it was.

RL: They never.

LL: Our two daughters, over time, they bought Richie all the ghost books. I think his name is Sleeman, isn't it?

JL: Tom Sleeman.

LL: And that's in one of his books!

RL: But for years nobody bothered, there was rubble all over the place.

LL: Just gone in for a little kip.

JL: And pushed it.

KMR: Do you have any feelings about the fact that the courts no longer exist?

RL: Well I think it's a good thing that they did away with them. I lived in the court house but didn't live in a court, Bill lived in a court. But there was no difference really. It was a house that was there, the other were knocked down type of thing, so the description of our house is the same as the others all the way around the ones that were missing because they were all built the same and they were the same as Bill's round the corner. But some of them were different because I've looked, like I said, I've seen a photograph of Prince Edwin Street in 1914 and I was born in…no…1924 [correcting date of photo] and I was born in 1926 and I can't remember it so I think they got the date wrong.

KMR: Do you remember Bill's court? Do you remember what it looked like?

RL: Yes, yes.

KMR: And how did it differ from your house being that most of the houses were gone?

RL: Oh, the houses were the same. The houses were the same. The ceilings were very high up, the rooms were, like I said, would have been about twelve by twelve, something like that. I think the kitchen may have been a little bit bigger than the front room, the front room was smaller than……The lobby, the stairs went up just before the kitchen type of thing, you know. The door was on that side, the other houses were the other way around, if you can imagine. But, the back of our house, where the space was, there must have been a house the same as ours, but it would be facing a different way. It would have been facing into the court. Because there was no toilet in our house, our toilet was in the court type of thing, so those houses, I think there may have been two or three houses, I don't know whether it was two or three, on either side and that was the court, with the back. And, the toilet must have been, there must have been water in the centre, because I've seen courts with the water in the centre, and we had water in the house so obviously there have been changes. Whether they had gas or not I don't know, we had gas in those two rooms. Like I said, those houses were still standing after we left them, knowing the way the landlords are, he would have rent them.

KMR: Looking back what would be the worst thing in living in that house was?

RL: Well, there was loads of bugs and thing like that in the house. My dad had to, he used to regularly paint lime on all the…take the beds…. The beds used to be like springs on them, like stage on the outside, and the metal was alright but were all the wood...he would cover that in lime, that used to work.

KMR: I'm sorry, that prevented the bugs?

RL: Yes.

LL: They always came back though, didn't they?

RL: Well, there must have…

LL: Wipe every spring…

RL: Well there must have been cockroaches, bugs, you know? That type of thing.

LL: Wipe every spring; get the beds out, get the blower on them. That's what you used to do.

RL: I've never ever seen any rats as such but there was always talk that there were rats about.

LL: There was cockroaches Rich, wasn't there?

RL: Oh, there were cockroaches, yes. That's what I'm saying, beetles, cockroaches, all that type of thing. Nasties.

KMR: Was the house warm or cold do you recall?

RL: It was cold. The fire was… the thing I suppose in a round about way, you appreciate things that you have got so if you haven't got something and you get it, it makes you happy, whereas if you had something and you lost it, it makes you unhappy. So, if you start off from the bottom you can't lose out, can you?

JL: [Mumbles]…Drink your tea dad, there you are. That's a fresh one. My mum used to visit someone in the courts, didn't you?

LL: Yes, well…that was my mother's friend, but that was up by St. Mary's church, that road opposite St. Mary's Church going up to Wavertree Road.

KMR: Ah, okay.

LL: Jenkins Funeral Parlour, always remember that. And then we turned right, there was a new block of flats with… sister got one, but opposite that there was at least this one row of courts. I think there was a stand pipe in the middle, that was the water wasn't it?

RL: Mmmmm.

LL: There were toilets at the end. And, mum's friend lived…well, I was only that big… but I can remember. It was about five. My mum's friend lived to one on the left and it was similar to what Richie was describing. We went up steps and then there was one room like the museum, you know? Just one big family room. I never went upstairs, I think there was some kind of a kitchen. This lady seeing a very bad accident and people killed by the church and lost her voice. She was dumb. You know? She was trained as a seamstress and mum used to take me up to get my clothes made, dress, coats and things. My mum's sister, auntie Liz, we called her, she had whatever, she was young, stylish, whatever it was, and she used to give the clothes to my mum. She also worked in the lino, you know, making overalls and things. She used to unpick them all and then Auntie Liz would stroll up, go to Caldies, and have an ice cream. We watched weddings at St. Mary's but then we'd go round to my mums friend and go to her court house and have a cup of tea and she would take them, she would make me the clothes, turn them inside out, so that the good side was out, and make me dresses and coats. And all kinds of…I can remember that because we went quite a bit, good friends.

KMR: Can I ask, when you met and got married, when was that?

LL: 1956.

RL: We met in a dance hall. Grafton was it? Carno. Might have been one of those two.

[Everyone laughs]

LS: Obviously memorable!

[Everyone laughs]

JL: I think it was Carno, wasn't it?

RL: Yes. Think it was Carno.

LL: Always at the dance.

KMR: Where did you get married?

LL: St. Margaret's in Belmont Road. It burned down after we got married. Well after Susan was christened, my eldest daughter, it sort of, burned down.

RL: I think one of the things that you may not pick up on this, it's just my opinion like, but it's people not places. The more people…everyone was packed in, and you learnt something from everybody, so, you know? All those people, you could virtually say it was a mass of skills and opinions…and…help you to judge things and that so that as the good part of living in a packed area were people were finding it hard to live. You knew and found out how to get on with one another and put all the things that they worry you about went out the window, the first thing they wanted to do was to survive and that meant getting on with one another…

60.00-69.59

RL: …That's the way it was in that time. If, say for instance, Bill, although he doesn't want to get involved, he was the same as he was when he was a lad; the opinions are the same, everything is the same and it's more or less based on that foundation of life and what it was. I do appreciate the fact that the corner shops kept the population alive then and they didn't get much out of it, they didn't make big bucks.

LL: They didn't charge interest.

RL: All they wanted out of it was a living. That's what they got really.

JL: Sounds like they were quite empathetic to the poor people as well.

LL: Yes.

JL: You know, they were kind, you know? As much as they could be with their own.

LL: In those days if anyone was ill, my mum…say we were having scouse for instance…Mrs so-and-so wasn't well…she would take her…you know? There would be one for her, whoever it was. From all the neighbours.

RL: Well, what do you call it, auntie Anne. Now she was a nice old lady. I used to do shopping for her regularly, but she lived on her own for eight years. I didn't know her husband, but he had a reputation, anybody had a problem, or wanted a letter writing, or a problem solved, you just went to him and he did it, he didn't charge for it was part-and-par…well it was his job, he just accepted it. I can do this, they can't, so I'll do it for them.

LL: We've got nice neighbours, haven't we?

RL: We have.

LL: Charlie next door and Barbara, you know? If it's snowing or the weathers bad, "Do you want anything? Because we're going into town". Barbara next door, she's one of eight children you know, she's coming up to retirement, but she's came from a big family and she topped to tail when she was little, you know? She'll tell you. But she always knocks like, "hey, you alright?".

KMR: Do you think that community spirit is lost slightly when you're not so packed?

RL: Yes, definitely.

KMR: So, it is about the people? People don't change, but I suppose when you live further away…

LL: Its how you've been brought up, isn't it? And you pass it on, me and I pass it on to you.

RL: When we moved to Fonthill Road we were living with neighbours there which were different, but they were part-and-parcel. The same type of people but with different personalities. And, next door to us was a family called the Owens. They had loads of kids. He was a docker, he used to go to work and come home, get drunk, go to bed. Same routine. And the woman, Mrs. Owens, she'd look after the kids and that type of thing. She had a blue baby and she was in and out of hospital…all kinds. And, I went to the Navy. I joined the Navy before I was eighteen or seventeen and Anne always used to come in the house a lot and when I went away she started to live in our house, she started to sleep in my bed.

JL: Because she was sick they had loads of kids next door.

LL: It was better for Anne.

JL: She must have had a cardiac problem that probably could have been fixed now. But, because she was a sickly child, a blue baby….

RL: She died when she was eighteen after masses of operations, but, when I came out of the Navy to go back, she didn't move into her own house, she moved into the house next to that. She moved into the Fosters' because they had a bed and that's where she lived. So, there was something there that we've lost.

LS: Do you want to choose one of your poems to read to us?

RL: Yes, if they'll be any good.

LS: Yes, I don't know which one you'd like best.

KMR: I'll keep the tape playing don't worry; no rush. Enjoy your cake!

[Everyone laughs]

RL: It might be an idea if you read the draft because there might be something in it that you might be interested in that we haven't spoken about.

KMR: Would you be happy if we took these and just did copies and I could pass them back to you?

RL: If you wish. If they're any good to you.

KMR: I'd love to.

RL: I'm not forcing them on you. Just…[mumbles]

LL: You could probably take them away and read them, couldn't you?

LS: Yes. Is that okay?

LL: Yes. You could always phone me dad up and talk to him on the phone.

LS: Yes. If you give me further details.

LL: Yes.

RL: After that I start to talk about after life was changing which I didn't think you would be interested in.

KMR: Well, we're interested in everything I think. Just because this project is focused on the courts, we just sort of centred in on that way of life. But, obviously what came before and comes afterwards is still part of the story and puts it into context.

RL: In this story…[mumbles]…I started to put pictures in.

KMR: Ooh. I've got to guess which one you are?

RL: If you can. If you can.

KMR: Ooh.

LL: We could email any, any you want to.

RL: Depends what you want.

JL: Haven't you got a picture of Margaret outside the court house as well?

RL: Yes.

KMR: The pressure is on now because if I point to a child that you didn't get on with…

[LL laughs]

[KMR sounding hesitant]

RL: No, the one in front. That's me.

KMR: Where? Oh, I wasn't far off!

[Everyone laughs]

RL: My dad was in work at the time, so I look quite bonny.

JL: There was more fat on you when your dad was at work. [JL laughs]

RL: All that fat helped me to keep alive.

JL: One of your poems, there's one about a court house isn't there? Is it that one?

RL: There's something about them in a couple of them I think. But I don't know if they're any good.

LL: A court house slum in Liverpool.

JL: Yes.

KMR: Would you like to pick one to read to us? For the tape. Your favourite one perhaps? That would be lovely to have you reading it.

RL: There was one there with...I don't know.

JL: How long did it take to build the court house in the museum? [referring to recreation in Museum of Liverpool]

LS: Probably the actual process of building was about a month. But, there was a lot of research before that. They were all being designed, all the materials chosen. We

had one in the old Museum of Liverpool Life which was built out of bricks but didn't have that room of what went into the fill, in quite the same way. So, we just wanted to improve on that really. But we did base this on a real court which is in North Liverpool. So, we did the census research from 1871-1881, so all those stories were based on real families that actually lived there. We found a couple of families which stayed in the court for a number of decades and sort of their children moved into the other houses in the same court and things like that.

LL: A lot moved out, didn't they? To Skelmersdale.

LS: Yes, yes.

LL: And there are a lot of Liverpool people in Widnes.

LS: Yes, yes. And there's a lot of turn-over of people moving to different areas. But there was some longevity. There were some people that still live in that area which I thought was quite interesting.

KMR: Some of the interviews that we've done actually support that, don't they? The families will chat with the local landlord, you know? Move into the next house, so their sister will move into the next court; they'll stay in the same couple of streets but move to different houses. So, it's still part of the same community but with different houses to suit the family at the time.

RL: There's an Everton Brow website. I don't know whether you know about it in loads of photographs on there.

JL: I think that's on Facebook [JL laughs]

RL: Prince Edwin Street was on that. I've got…I've taken in…show you the photographs I've got on the computer; I've collected some like, but I don't know what you really want. I think that might be the best for you……

70.00-79.59

RL [to KMR]: What do you think? I'd rather you choose rather than me. I've got no…

LS: Did you see near the court in the Museum, we did a small display about Everton. We worked with the West Everton community council and looked at the history of this area, around Soho Street, and, looked at…there's a model of it from four different periods.

JL: Yes, we saw that with the lights.

RL: Oh yes.

LL: It was lit up wasn't it?

LS: That was just on the edge of your area I think…isn't it? Yes.

RL: Yes. It's a mammoth task you've got you know, trying to get back to those times. But every little bit of information will, together, work like bricks.

LS: Yes, it just builds up.

RL: Yes, a bit more and a bit more and if they add up it's a bonus then.

KMR: Yes, that's perfect. If you don't mind reading it, that would be lovely.

RL [reading his poem]:

A courthouse slum in Liverpool, where I was born and went to school.

That was basic from the state.

I still remember the open doors, the friendly faces, and lino floors.

The chores that wouldn't wait.

Prince Edwin Street on a steep incline, staring carts came down them fine.

But they were hard to stop.

The only traffic in our street was carter's wheels and horse's feet that struggled to reach the top.

No modern equipment, no electric wire, instead a lamp or candle and we had coal fire.

This is what we had.

The furniture just basic, all really quiet, but the house was a welcome home when we retired.

For a mere common lad, modern con's we didn't have.

Just a tin bath and an outside lamp.

We managed okay, we had to cope with block of sunlight soap and cold water everyday.

The people, when they climb from a boy to a man and everyone was known.

They all did belong, and just like the song they would never walk alone.

The bond I guess was togetherness.

There were no drugs or guns.

Parents that were there used to watch and care for the daughters and the sons.

So much for what we didn't possess, like proper meals and suitable dress.

What we had were others.

Mates that shared, were always there, behaving just like brothers.

You don't miss out on fate's roundabout if you were a Liverpool lad.

Money wouldn't buy the friendship tie and the neighbourhood I had.

The copper's beat was in our street but there wasn't much there to rob.

No policewomen, then they were all six-foot men.

They had the bobbiest job.

If they didn't solve crime they would give you the time, or a clip with the back of their hand.

With big booted feet they would walk the street, sometimes with a sally army band.

Corner shops kept us alive, open all day, not nine till five.

And that's the way it stayed.

If you had no money you would have to wait, while what you owed went on the slate, until it could be paid.

They were well stocked and family-run, a busy life and not for fun.

They played a vital part.

There were no fortunes made for the part they played, but many thanks from the heart.

Kids went out to play for most of the day, but when the schools let out the place to meet was in the street where they could sing and shout.

Our own territory was the place to be, the street was our play park.

Wind or rain, we didn't complain, we'd play all day till dark.

There were clashes, folk and lessons were dull, but teachers did their best.

There was just enough of the basic stuff to give our brains a test.

Road we took was not by the book, we learned by doing stuff.

We learned, if you like, like riding a bike, there was no need for bluff.

Just learning to read and write didn't make us bright, only hungry for more learning

It was not to be for them and me, we were being prepared for learning.

KMR: That's wonderful, thank you. I think that's fantastic. I think you've captured it, haven't you?

LL: Yes, he took everything he's said.

JL: Yes.

KMR: Yes. It's an interesting way of sort of sharing your memories; first-hand experiences, that's really what we miss.

RL: I've collected stuff all my life, like when I went in the Navy I was mostly the rough 'n' ready lad but I had all the training and they were looking people to do a job so I was good material for them so I finished up on a good ship amongst all kinds of personalities and people that….educated and skilled if you like - information rubbed off from them and onto me, if you like. Gave me confidence from there on. When I came out of the Navy I went to night school…when I was younger there used to be a night school in Everton Brow…I was talking about Everton Brow. It used to be fantastic, it was like magic because they had proper pencils, pens and papers. You have to go at night though. It was at the top on the right-hand side, but it was really something. You get pleasures from such strange things like getting a Christmas present. That was another thing in that story there. They, the poor, used to have…they pay money all day every week and Christmas time you'd get it back and there used to be scams in those days and we got caught out by one once. When Christmas came he just disappeared with all the money.

KMR: I'll bet that was a hungry Christmas.

RL: Well, to be honest, we didn't get a lot, we used to get a sweet club. And I think I can remember once getting a wind-up motorbike, a kid on a motorbike I think it was. Nestle's milk tins were made into…wherever it was.

LL: Made in Germany that's where it came from with the thing [unclear] Built with nestles milk. Some kind of tin fruit of something. All the names…

JL: My dad were in the Navy, weren't you dad? When you were eighteen. He went from there…he was in the Battle of the Atlantic wasn't he.

LL: Yes.

JL: Went down last year, you know? Was it last year before all the….[unclear] We went down we had a chat in what was the big building at the pier head they had sort

of tea rooms and people sharing their memories and photographs and thinks like that – it was great.

KMR: I know they had the battle ships [at the Pier Head]

JL: Yes.

LL: Yes, they had all the planes, you know?

JL: They had sort of a mock battle in there.

RL: Have you got any of those maps to spare? I wouldn't mind a copy.

KMR: Yes, have those ones. You can keep hold of them.

LS: Would it be alright if we borrowed your pieces for copies? That would be great, thank you. We could post those back to you.

[tape ends]